











# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

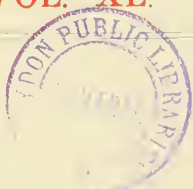
## British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XL.



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCLXXXIV.

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ROMAN SEPULCHRAL SLAB RECENTLY FOUND AT ILKLEY.

THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

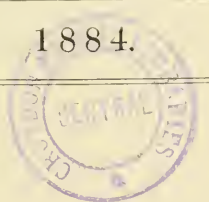
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## PREFACE.

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THE FORTIETH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, which is here submitted to the attention of antiquaries, comprehends the text of the greater number of the papers read before, and the descriptions of the more important antiquities exhibited to, the members either at the Congress held in the summer of 1883 at Dover, or during the course of the sessional meetings in London for the year. An opportunity also has been taken of inserting some papers which from want of room had been kept over unavoidably from less recent times. New discoveries have been carefully noted, and excavations and researches encouraged where it has been felt that useful results are likely to accrue.

Among the discoveries of a more than ordinary nature the first place must be given to the recovery of the sepulchral paraphernalia of an Anglo-Saxon prince from the Taplow tumulus, as described to us shortly after the investigation by one of our Associates who was present at the time. Let us hope that the intended scientific examination of a large mound not far from London may

yield, as Taplow has, valuable data that may enable us to rehabilitate in our minds more vividly than heretofore at least some of the manners and customs of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

In addition to the extensive number of British antiquities, ranging from prehistoric times to the latest recognised period, that have been laid on our table from time to time, we have not been unsupplied with foreign objects, and records of foreign archæology, which have allowed of useful deduction and comparison to be made.

But if archæology has evolved new phases since the time when the British Archæological Association first sprang into existence, it would appear that after all we are still in the primitive condition of gatherers of bare shreds and patches, chips and fragments, of vast phases of bye-gone conventional civilisations; and we still await the inception of that form of inquiry which shall enunciate vital theories, and distil, as it were, by a potent mental alchemy, important truths, more precious than gold, from the secrets which the handiworks of the dead have bequeathed to those among us to-day who may read them aright.

W. DE G. BIRCH.

31 December 1884.

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# British Archaeological Association.

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THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for



the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1883-84 are as follow:—1883, Nov. 21, Dec. 5. 1884, January 2, 16; Feb. 6, 20; March 5, 19; April 2, 16; May 7 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 21; June 4.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.<sup>1</sup>

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,<sup>2</sup>—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities: to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

### ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen<sup>3</sup> Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen<sup>4</sup> other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May<sup>5</sup> in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

### OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

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<sup>1</sup> The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

<sup>2</sup> Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

<sup>3</sup> Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

<sup>5</sup> In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

## OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

## OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

## OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days<sup>1</sup> on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

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 PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

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<sup>1</sup> In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

<sup>2</sup> At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at			Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY	.	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER	.	
1846	GLOUCESTER	.	
1847	WARWICK	.	
1848	WORCESTER	.	
1849	CHESTER	.	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	.	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY	.	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK	.	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER	.	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHEPSTOW	.	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	.	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER & BATH	.	
1857	NORWICH	.	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY	.	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1859	NEWBURY	.	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860	SHREWSBURY	.	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER	.	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862	LEICESTER	.	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863	LEEDS	.	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864	IPSWICH	.	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM	.	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866	HASTINGS	.	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867	LUDLOW	.	SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bt.
1868	CIRENCESTER	.	THE EARL BATHURST
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	.	THE LORD LYTTON
1870	HEREFORD	.	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871	WEYMOUTH	.	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON	.	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873	SHEFFIELD	.	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874	BRISTOL	.	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875	EYESHAM	.	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	.	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877	LLANGOLLEN	.	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878	WISBECH	.	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879	YARMOUTH & NORWICH	.	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880	DEVIZES	.	THE EARL NELSON
1881	GREAT MALVERN	.	THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882	PLYMOUTH	.	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883	DOVER	.	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1883-4.

## President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

## Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.; SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, Bart.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; SIR W. W. WYNN, Bart., M.P.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

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JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
A.W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
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REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.  
THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J.O.H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.  
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.  
E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.  
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*  
JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

## Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,  
Streatham Hill, S.W.

## Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.  
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

## Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

## Draughtsman.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

## Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

## Council.

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GEORGE ADE, Esq.  
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.S.A.  
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.  
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
ARTHUR COPE, Esq.  
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### THE ARCHIVES OF THE BOROUGH OF DOVOR.

BY EDWARD KNOCKER, F.S.A., HON. LIBRARIAN TO THE  
CORPORATION.

(Read August 20, 1883.)

My first remark on the archives of this borough must be one of lament that so few have been preserved here. Our forefathers do not appear to have taken any heed of such things, and the spoliator's hand hath wrought to our loss. The consequence has been their dispersion, and that, we believe, not always in a righteous way. We have good grounds for the belief that through the careless manner in which they were kept, even only half a century since, one individual in particular possessed himself of many, some of which the writer, as well as the Corporation, have purchased back from his representatives. However, "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*", and we must be thankful for the few that have been spared.

The town of Dovor has an ancient history. The Roman *Dubris* was one (and the only one of the Cinque Ports that was) of the nine ports over which the Romans appointed a *Comes littoris Saxonici*, styled by Camden the *Limen Archa* of the Ports. How long that institution existed after the departure of the Romans we have no means, outside of legendary lore, of knowing. Some approximation to it seems to have existed in the time of Edward the Confessor, when Dovor furnished a certain number of ships for the King's service, and which, doubt-



less, grew into the establishment of the principality of the Cinque Ports.

We find a reference to Dovor in the *Domesday Book*, which professes to give a record of things as they existed in the reign of the Confessor, when Earl Godwyne was the Warden or Governor. It says that "the burgesses rendered 18 pounds, of which moneys King Edward had two parts, and Earl Godwyne the third. The burgesses gave the King twenty ships once a year for fifteen days, and in each ship were twenty-one men. This they did in return for his having endowed them with *saca* and *soca*. In Dovor there are twenty-nine messuages, of which the King has lost the custom. Of these, William, son of Goisfrird, [has] three, in which was the Gihalla of the burgesses."

Whether this Gihalla (Guildhall) was a municipal hall, or that of some commercial guild, I do not pretend to say; but seeing that the King had lost the custom of twenty-nine houses, and the inhabitants are styled burgesses, the town must have been a fairly large town, and one of some importance. Whether anything definite may be deduced from the term "burgesses", it might be rash to assert; but from modern usage it would involve some organisation of a corporate character. The William Fitz-Godfrey in whose messuages the Gihalla was, seems to have been called the "Prepositus". A difference of opinion exists as to the proper rendering of that term. Whether it ought to be "Mayor", as some allege, or not, there is good ground for assuming that that title was in very early use in the corporate towns of the Cinque Ports.

In Holloway's *History of Rye*, p. 274, there is a copy of a charter granted by King Richard I for building the walls of that town, in which occur these words, viz., "*Barones nostri, Maior et Communitas Ville de la Rye*." The date given is 1194. Now as Rye was not one of the Cinque Ports, but an addition subsequent to their incorporation as one of "two ancient towns", the fair inference is that some of the corporate Cinque Ports had a Mayor previously. It is said that the title of Mayor was first given to the chief magistrate of London in the reign of King Henry II (1154-89), that officer having been before called the Port-Reeve, and subsequently Provost; and

that the first Mayor was Henry Fitz-Alwyn, who was appointed A.D. 1180, only fourteen years prior to the date of the Rye charter, which there is no reason to suppose used the title for the first time; and in a trial which was had a few years since to try the rights of the freemen of the Cinque Ports in the river Thames, as against the privileges of London, it was decided that the Cinque Ports had the priority, their charter having been anterior to that of the City of London; and it may fairly be contended that Dovor, the then chief Cinque Port, had a Mayor for its presiding officer before the City.

With these preliminary observations I will proceed to notice the muniments. The earliest documents which the Corporation now possess relate to the *Domus Dei*, or the Hospital of the *Maison Dieu*. That Hospital was founded by the celebrated Hubert de Burgh (Mr. Burgess says) at the end of the reign of King John, or in the beginning of that of his son. He adds that in all probability it was little more than a large hall, with a kitchen and a few rooms for those to whose management it was entrusted; the hall serving as a dining-room during the day, and "a shake-down" during the night. This hall stood on the site of the present new Town Hall in which we are now assembled. King Henry III subsequently added a chapel to the *Maison Dieu*, and is said to have been present at its dedication, in the eleventh year of his reign (A.D. 1227). The building, where the Sessions Courts are now held, at the northern end constitutes the remains of that chapel. As now seen, it consists of a very short nave divided from the chancel by an arch; but Mr. Burgess thinks it is by no means improbable that this short nave may be the easternmost part of the hall of Hubert de Burgh.

Some time in the reign of Edward I (most probably in 1277, for we read of extensive alterations then) another hall was added on the south side of Hubert de Burgh's building, the communication being effected by piercing the party wall with a series of very large and boldly moulded arches, now remaining. Above these occurred sundry windows forming a sort of clerestory; but on the other side the windows went down much lower (indeed, near to the ground), some 8 feet or 10 feet beneath the

present floor of the hall. There still remains the tower at the south-west side of the Edwardian hall, which, from the two arches in its western face, may possibly have served as an entrance.

Henry III, who built the chapel, was a great patron of this institution. It had been founded by De Burgh for the reception of the great flow of pilgrims to and from the Continent to worship at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, whose death occurred in the previous century. We have three charters granted by this King: the first in the eleventh year of his reign (1227), confirming a grant which Hubert de Burgh had previously made to it of the manor of Eastbridge, with the advowson of the church and appurtenances; the second in his thirteenth year, made (the King expressed) in "reverence of God, and for the health of our soul and the souls of our ancestors and heirs"; which exempted the master and brethren from all suits, aids, etc. In his nineteenth year the King granted a third charter simply confirming the Earl's gift.

While on this subject I may mention that the Corporation have a charter by King Edward III, in the twelfth year of his reign (1340), confirming by *Inspeimus* the charter of the thirteenth year of Henry III.

Besides the four charters referred to, there are seven deeds, to which the Master and Brethren of the Hospital were parties, dealing with lands and tenements. They range from the forty-second year of Henry III to the twelfth of Edward IV; but they contain nothing of public interest. The last was dated "in our capitular house".

In addition to the foregoing, the muniment chest contains twenty royal charters or "dites" relating to the franchises and internal organization, ranging from sixth of Edward II to the thirty-sixth of Charles II, besides many leases and conveyances to which the Corporation were parties, and other documents of a general character connected with the town and port and its neighbourhood and property therein.

Of manuscript books there are two large folio volumes, one containing entries of the proceedings of the Corporation, being minutes of the "hornblowings", or assemblies of the Mayor, jurats, and common councilmen, from the fifth and sixth of Philip and Mary to the second of Eliza-

beth ; and copies of the proceedings of the Brotherhood and Guestling (being the parliament of the Cinque Ports) from the seventeenth of Elizabeth to the twentieth of Charles II ; the others containing like entries of the minutes of the Common Assembly from first James I to twentieth Charles II.

Also eight bound books containing the accounts of the chamberlains of the Corporation from A.D. 1546, the last year of King Henry VIII, to the eleventh of George IV.

The Hon. Librarian has reason for firmly believing that the book containing the minutes of the Assembly succeeding twentieth Charles II has disappeared within the period of his memory ; and a friend lately communicated to him that he had found the missing minutes in the British Museum, ranging from 1674 to 1768, as also "Extracts from Corporation Books of Dover"; and he cannot help suspecting the individual before referred to, who in such a case, as may be presumed, parted with them to the Museum for a consideration. He feels it right specially to call the attention of the Mayor and Corporation to this matter, expressing a hope that it will receive their early and earnest care and attention,—a desire which he is quite sure the British Archæological Association will cordially second.

It would not be possible, within the compass of a short address, to give anything like a detailed account of the deeds, cash accounts, or minutes of Assembly, and a few salient points on matters of historical interest may suffice.

It need hardly be observed to *you* that the ships of the Cinque Ports constituted the first, and for some centuries the only, navy of the kingdom. What is more immediately connected with this port is the passage across "the silver streak" to and from the French coast. This subject was frequently dealt with by the Crown, being held to be one of great importance; and if we may judge from the several royal ordinances that were made, it was one of no little difficulty. It was treated of as early as the reign of Edward I ; but the first royal charter or "dite" in the possession of the Corporation is one of Edward II, made in his sixth year. After reciting that debates, contentions, and riots, had often taken place, to the great peril and loss of the whole of the commonalty of the



town, it sets out an agreement by the members of the Company called the "Fferschip" (Fellowship), in the presence of the Mayor and the whole commonalty, that no "passager" ship pass except in turn, *i.e.*, each ship three fares; and after the three fares, that ship do not make the passage until all the ships in the Company have made three fares, under a penalty of one hundred shillings sterling, to be levied by the bailiff, and delivered to the Warden of the Cinque Ports. Five good men were to be chosen wardens of the ordinance to protect it.

To this ordinance there appear to have been eleven seals attached. Four are nearly perfect; one appears to be that of the Mayor's seal still in use; and the tag of a large seal in the centre, probably the Great Seal of England, a small portion of the wax yet adhering to it. The "fferschip" referred to in it was probably the initiation of the celebrated organization of the Fellowship of Cinque Ports Pilots, which was for so many years under the governance and ordering of the Court of Loadmanage, presided over by the Lord Warden, assisted by the officers of the Ports, and held in the Chancery and Admiralty Court of the Cinque Ports, in or adjoining St. James' Church.

Edward III, by a charter in the seventeenth year of his reign, recites and confirms by *Inspeximus* a charter of the seventeenth of Edward II, by which it was (*inter alia*) arranged with the Fferschip that the owners of passenger vessels should, in aid of the Commonalty, give out of every cargo of a ship freighted with horses from Dovor to Wytsand, 2s.; and for every passage boat freighted with foot passengers, 12*d.*, which contributions coming into some common box in the church of St. Martin, under the custody of two or three good men of the ships, and other two or three good men of the rest of the commonalty, to be put aside safely in aid of the service of right to be made by the port to the King, and for other necessities of the port. This charter of Edward II was, it is recited, sealed by the most excellent Earl, Lord Edmund, the son of the illustrious King of England, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. Edward III, also by a charter in his second year, confirms one of his own made in the previous year, as well as one of King

Edward I, by which it was decreed that all the barons of the Cinque Ports should contribute to maintain the shipping to do the service of the Crown with their ships "when they shall have commandment".

Richard II, in his fourth year, by charter, refers to one of his grandfather, Edward, made in Parliament in his ninth year, containing, among others, the article:—"Item, that no pilgrim shall pass out of our realm to foreign parts, except from Dovor, under the penalty of imprisonment for a year"; and proceeds, "and we, on the requisition of our beloved John Hall, Maior of the aforesaid town of Dovor, the article aforesaid, according to the tenor aforesaid, have decided to be exemplified, willing and granting that the ordinance aforesaid, as to the article aforesaid, as it tends to the common weal of our kingdom, may be held inviolate and strictly observed". Given at Westminster. To this the Great Seal of England remains attached. In the sixth year of Edward IV the Mayor and Corporation presented a singular petition to the King, alleging that, according to the several charters, "no marchaunt, pylgrym, nor none other p'son or p'sones, hors, or beest, were to take passage except between Caleis and Dovor, except soldiers and marchants with marchaundises"; complaining of breaches, and praying a confirmation, which the King and his Parliament granted. A portion of the Great Seal is attached.

The next document is a royal warrant issued by King Henry V, a monarch of warrior celebrity, addressed to the Lord Warden, commanding public proclamation to be made of his intention to make war "against Lewes the French King and his adherents, not only enemies of Christ's Church, but also usurpers of the King's possessions"; and commanding his subjects to provide themselves with sufficient harness for the war.

King Henry VI granted a charter in his third year confirming the franchises of the Cinque Ports, and specifying by name what they severally were. And in his eighteenth year added another of like character at the request of the town. And again in his twenty-fifth year he granted to the mayor, bailiff, and commonalty a remittance of all imaginable offences; excepting—a soldier, a blacksmith, the late keeper of Nottingham

Goal, a felony committed in killing a soldier, some wools or woolly skins or other merchandise of staple exported contrary to the statutes.

Edward IV, in his sixth year, confirmed the ancient privileges, immunities, and freedoms granted to the Cinque Ports by his progenitors, the former Kings of England, referring to those enjoyed in the times of the Kings of England—Edward, William I and II, King Henry, and in the times of King Richard, King John, King Henry, etc. It will be noted that this carries back the privileges of the Cinque Ports expressly to the days of Edward the Confessor, and is therefore an authority for the antiquity of the institution. The next charter, by the same King in his eleventh year, gives rise to a singular inquiry. He had seized the town into his own hands; and the warrant constituted Thomas Hexstall, in whose fidelity he confided, Custos of the town and its members during pleasure, conferring upon him all the usual powers of a chief magistrate. What gave rise to the King's seizing the town amidst his wars is a matter of conjecture.

King Henry VIII, in his twenty-sixth year, issued a mittimus to the Constable of Dovor Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports, and others, directing them to receive the oath and fealty of his subjects inhabiting the town of Dovor and its members; and annexed to the warrant is the form of the oath, to "bere faith, trouth, and obediens alonely to the King's Majestie and to his heyres of his body of his most dere, intirely beloved lawfull wyf Queene Anne begoten and to be begoten. . . . And not to any other within this Realme, nor foren auctorite or potentate. . . . So help you God, the Seynts, and the Holy Evangelists." In less than two years after the oath was demanded the hapless Queen was beheaded.

The accession of Queen Mary took place in July 1553, and a charter, dated in the November following, was made by her, granting to the mayor, jurats, and commonalty the rivage and ferriage of the port.

Queen Elizabeth, in her twenty-fifth year, issued letters patent, granting licence to the mayor and jurats to buy and transport beyond the seas, beer, wheat, etc., for the support of the haven in the port; and in a paper of



Canon Scott-Robertson's, appearing in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. x, p. 114, it is shown what a large sum of money must have been realised by this licence. It is noteworthy that at this juncture England was an exporter of bread stuff as well as beer.

King Charles II, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, granted a royal charter (in addition to that of the five ports), appointing Dovor a free town and port of itself, and the mayor, jurats, and commonalty, a body corporate and politic. The charter and its powers and privileges were superseded by the Municipal Reform Act in 1834.

The last to which I will refer is one granted by Queen Anne in the first year of her reign. It superseded the King's water bailiff, and the conflicts with the local authorities, which had been caused by that appointment, and gave and granted to the mayor, jurats, and commonalty the office and offices of water bailiff and keeper of the prison, with power to appoint a deputy. The Great Seal attached to this charter is enclosed in an interesting and valuable, because rare, silver case or box, having engraved on its two faces impressions of the two parts of the corporate seal of the borough. Encircling the ships on the one face is the inscription, SIGILLUM COMMUNE BARONUM DOVORIA; and on the other face is the device of St. Martin (the titular saint of Dovor) and the beggar. The legend giving rise to this device is narrated thus: "He cut his dress (cloak) in two to cover a poor man whom he met at the gate of Amiens. It is pretended that Jesus Christ showed himself to Martin the night following, clad in this half of the dress. He was then prepared for baptism", etc. It is said that he was originally a soldier, and exhibited great virtues as such. But the remarkable feature in this case is that under the device of St. Martin is this motto, AMIAMIGO TODO, in capital Roman letters. It is, perhaps, not free from doubt, but it would appear to be the better opinion, that the inscription is Spanish. I have the authority of Mr. C. S. Greaves for this rendering of it: A (to) MI (my) AMIGO (friend) TODO (all or everything); i.e., "everything to my friend", as rendered strictly; and it seems to mean "may everything fortunate and good fall to the lot of my friend."

But the question remains, Why an inscription in a foreign language upon a box enclosing the Great Seal of England? When endeavouring, a few years since, to solve this mystery, a friend called my attention to what appears in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. That author states that Lewis, in the first page of his *Dissertations on the Antiquity and Use of Seals*, engraves a seal of Robert the Prior, who lived *circa* A.D. 1193; and after describing this seal, goes on to state that another copy of it exists, which besides bears the motto in capital letters, AMIA MIGO TOGO, and round about six pairs of lions passant guardant. Dugdale then, under the head of Dovor, adds, the seal is probably that of another Robert the Prior, who lived in 1348, and says that the motto being in Spanish is explained by the fact that St. Martin was by birth a Spaniard, and that the inscription may be translated, "My coat to my friend"; and it is a most appropriate motto for a seal. The double or crossed c on the box shows that the engraving was probably executed in the reign of Charles; but the Hall-mark on it is of the year 1701, the year before the date of this charter.

King James I, in the seventh year of his reign, issued a commission for levying and gathering an aid for making Prince Henry, the King's eldest son, a knight; but the Corporation of Dovor refused to acknowledge their liability, claiming exemption under their charter.

The foregoing quotations (given very briefly) will convey some faint idea of the peculiars of the Cinque Ports; and the minutes of the Assembly reveal somewhat of the administration of justice in olden times, and of the manners and customs of our forefathers: for example, in the reign of Philip and Mary, a widow was fined for roasting meat on a fast day, for which offence she was condemned to sit in the open market-place, in the stocks, with the shoulder of mutton before her, and then to be committed to prison until the "ordenor" take further order therein. A freeman was fined for taking a non-freeman as partner.

In the reign of the Virgin Queen a cut-purse was adjudged the pillory, with the merciful boon that the bailiff was to nail one of his ears to the pillory, and give him a knife, and "leave to cut it hof, or else stand still there." Two women were fined 20*d.* and 5*s.* respectively, for

being scolds ; and so late as the year 1614 three women were condemned to the cucking-stool for being scolds, and the infliction of the punishment (then and theretofore of frequent occurrence) is thus described : "About four in the afternoon the said three women were led to the haven's mouth, it being then high sea ; and at the timber within the said haven a certain maste of a bote was fastened, hanging over the water ; and at the end thereof the cucking-stoole, with a pulley, was hanging, and the said three women towed in a boat unto yt ; and the said Whyttyngham his wife was first putt into the said stoole and well ducked, and putt into the boate again ; and next unto her the said Elizabeth Sands three sev'all times, and taken into the said boat. But forasmuch as the said Anne Boys fault was not so great as the others, therefore she was carryed to the said cucking-stoole, and made to kisse yt, and so was remitted from being ducked for that offence."

In the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth a man and his wife were banished from the town for a year and a day for evil demeanour and behaviour ; two jurats entered into recognisance to keep the peace one toward the other ; and another jurat, for contempt against the Mayor and jurats, was fined £4, or twenty days imprisonment. Butchers were ordered to deliver their tallow to a certain man, and fined 20s. apiece for disobedience ; and one of them, for using "opprobrious words", was committed "to warde into the foreyners ward." In the reign of James I a wife was committed to prison for being a common scold ; a man, for committing a street nuisance, was "committed to the warde near the prison, and not to depart without leave, for that certen ydle and vagrant persons ar now committed to the said prison." A widow was fined 12*d.* for suffering her man to puff the kidneys of a calf ; a man, for drunkenness, was ordered to be set in the post with his hands fastened, which post was provided for the purpose ; another was fined 3s. for suffering his chimney to be on fire ; two butchers were committed to prison for killing flesh in Lent, "according to the order of H. M. most honourable Privy Council." Divers persons were fined 12*d.* each for being absent from Divine Service and sermon on Sunday without sufficient excuse.

The elections of mayors and members of Parliament were then, and indeed up to the early part of this present century, held in the parish church of St. Mary.

At an Assembly held 14th March 1613, a letter from the Right Hon. the Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, was read, moving that the Right Worshipful Sir Robert Brett, Knight, Lieutenant of the Castle, might be chosen one of the Barons at the next Parliament; and another letter signifying that upon the ground of an extraordinary occasion pressing his honour, did earnestly entreat that for this time he might have the nomination of the other Baron, and recommending Sir George Fane. The Assembly to these requests gave a willing consent.

So late as July 1626 an order was made for the Cinque Ports to furnish out two ships of 200 tons each, to serve on the coast for three months; and the quantity of 140 tons, amounting to £482 10s., was apportioned to Dovor.

In 1668 Thomas Dawkes had failed to appear at Common Councils, and Warham Jemett appeared without a gown, and they were severally fined and committed to the freemen's prison, and ordered to show cause at the next Assembly why they should not forfeit their freedom for not being confined to the prison.

James II, in 1670, required the Lieutenant of Dovor Castle to order the magistrates to cause all meeting houses to be shut, and pulpits, benches, and seats pulled down.

The foregoing are a few extracts from the minutes of the Corporation Assemblies. They are somewhat of a mixed character; but it must be remembered that the jurats were also justices of the peace, and to that must be attributed, I think, the intermingling of municipal proceedings with the administration of the justice of the times. I refrain from lengthening this paper by adding more of a like kind; and for the same reason I will not attempt any extracts from the books of accounts; and I proceed now to refer briefly to the few articles of the regalia, or badges of office, pertaining to the Corporation. The first to be mentioned is the large silver-gilt mace, which, as it is before you, I need not pretend to describe. Its date is of the reign of Charles II. The next, perhaps,



in interest (if it be second) is the large horn. It is likewise before you, and you will perceive that it is richly chased. It measures, in a perpendicular line, about 2 ft., and the diameter of the mouth is about 5 ins. In a band encircling it, at a distance of 4 ins. from the mouth, is the inscription following, viz., \*A\*G\*L\*A\* IOHANNES; and in a scroll starting from the band, and, I assume, a continuation of it, is the following, viz., DE. A. LEMAINÉ. ME. FECIT. Now the first four letters, AGLA, represent the most potent of all exorcisms, compounded of the initials of the Hebrew ATHA, GEBIR, LEILAM, ADONAAI ("Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord"). Mottoes so composed are of very great antiquity. The remainder of the inscription may be read, "John of Germany made me." I have the authority of Mr. Francks for saying that the horn is to be assigned to the thirteenth century. If manufactured in Germany, to the early part of it; or if made in England, to the middle of the century. So that it may properly be assigned to the reign of Henry III.

The hand-bell is of interest. It stands (exclusive of the handle) about 3 inches high. The inscription reads, PETRVS GHEINEVS ME FECIT, 91. What was the correct date of this bell has been questioned. A writer in the *Antiquary* writes that in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii, 1789, the engraving is given of a brass bell, 3 inches high, inscribed PETRUS GHEYNEYS ME FECIT, 1366; and he says that he had a silver-gilt bell with the same inscription and the same date, 1569; that he saw also a copper one, a few years ago, at Frankfort, for sale, with the same inscription, but the date he did not remember. Its size was 10 inches. That the subject on the whole of these bells is the same,—Orpheus, who, on a rude kind of violin, has brought round him an attentive looking audience of birds and beasts, including

"Rabbit and hare,  
And even a bear."

That in addition to the name of the maker there is an inscription in capital letters, O MATRI DEI MEMENTO MEI, on all three bells. That he had always considered that Van Der Cheyn, the bell-founder of the Netherlands (sixteenth century), was the person referred to by the Latin *Petrus Gheynus* or *Petrus Gheinus*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *The Antiquary*, vol. ii, p. 86.

This extract is not very satisfactory. It does not appear to me that the device on the Dovor bell answers to that given on the others referred to; but this question I must leave to the learned. Certainly this one has not the prayer mentioned; and it will be satisfactory to us if some gentleman can speak with authority about it. It has evidently been gilded. The meetings of the old, unreformed Corporation (of which the writer was a member) were always held in private, and this bell was used to summon the Mayor's serjeant in attendance at the door.

The seals of the Mayor and Corporation I need only refer to. The explanation of them happily falls into better hands; but I will just observe that the large seal of the Barons of Dovor has a date upon the back of one division of it. The figures have been partially defaced; and I have the authority likewise of Mr. Francks for saying there is no doubt that the date is 1305, and it is therefore to be assigned to the reign of King Edward I.

The small silver oar enclosed in a brass case was the water-bailiff's oar. The deputy bearing this oar had authority to board ships within the jurisdiction, and make arrests. I know of no authority for fixing a date to it; but I presume it may be assigned to the time when the Mayor and Corporation had the grant of office under the charter of Queen Anne. The present oar has the Hall-mark of George III. The brass case is probably of an earlier date than that. Does the Hall-mark necessarily affix the date of manufacture? Or may the Hall-mark have been impressed subsequently?

The gold chain and badge worn by the Mayor for the time being was presented to the Corporation in the year 1868 by Sir W. H. Bodkin, the late (and for many years) Recorder of the Borough. He first held the office (then denominated Steward) under the Corporation prior to the Municipal Reform Act, 1834.

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## ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, CANTERBURY.

BY THE REV. J. ORGER, M.A.

(Read August 23, 1883.)

THE Monastery of St. Augustine was one of the two earliest institutions of the English Church. The chief of the more ancient printed materials for its history, besides the passages in Bede relating to it, and the documents in Dugdale and similar collections, are—1, *The Chronicle of William Thorne*, who was one of its monks. It ends with the year 1397, and was printed by Sir Roger Twisden in the *Decem Scriptores*. 2, a *Chronicle* without the author's name, but attributed, on the strength of internal evidence, by Archdeacon Hardwicke, who edited it for the Master of the Rolls, to Thomas of Elmham, at one time monk and treasurer of St. Augustine's; but who joined the Cluniac order, and became Prior of Lenton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1414, at which time his account of this Abbey comes to an end. The work is unfinished, but it contains a chronological table covering the whole history down to that year, and carried on, in another hand, to the year 1418. It is well known to antiquaries by the title of *The Trinity Hall MS.*, having been presented to that College in the early part of the seventeenth century. Light also is thrown on the relations of Christ Church and St. Augustine's by the *Chronicle of Gervaise*, a monk of Christ Church, which was edited by Twisden.<sup>1</sup>

The principal unpublished source of information is *The Red Book of Canterbury*, belonging to the British Museum, "a magnificent array of charters and other muniments belonging to St. Augustine's."<sup>2</sup> Among more modern sources may be mentioned Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, and his editor Battely; Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. iv; Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*. Of quite recent date is Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's paper in vol. xxxv, Part I, of the *Journal* of this Association. It is

<sup>1</sup> Hardwicke's Introduction, p. xviii.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.



learned and useful, but confused, and sometimes inaccurate. I see references to Mr. Dunkin's Report of this Association for 1844, but I have had no opportunity of consulting it.

The monks of this Abbey and of Christ Church used to dispute on the point of priority in foundation. There could, in any case, have been only one or two years difference. They were both practically of the same date, and the immediate result of the success of St. Augustine's mission; we may therefore acquiesce in the date claimed in our chronicles, of 597. Ethelbert's *Dotatio* (charter of endowment), however, is referred to in the year 605, which was also that of St. Augustine's death. The consecration of the church by his successor, St. Laurence, took place in 813, when his body, which lay outside, was placed within.

The Abbey owed its foundation to the desire of providing a burial-place for the converts to the Christian faith in Canterbury, and of placing it under suitable guardians. It was a settled point that it was to be without the town walls. Somner suggests that a reminiscence of the Law of the Twelve Tables, forbidding the burial of a dead man within the city, led to this determination. The *Dotatio* of Ethelbert (believed, however, not to be genuine) says that St. Augustine commanded that himself and his successors should be buried here, "*Scripturâ dicente, non esse civitatem mortuorum sed vivorum.*" It does not use the term "*Sacra Scriptura*". It may mean, therefore, to give the spirit of the prohibition of the Roman law in words altered from those of the New Testament. The actual site included the desecrated church which St. Augustine dedicated to St. Pancras; and it has been thought by Battely and Dean Stanley,<sup>1</sup> that lying, as this did, between the city and St. Martin's, it affected the choice of situation. The ground set apart for the cemetery lay on either side of the Deal Road. This was not likely to escape Dr. Stanley. "Augustine the Roman", he says, "fixed his burial-place by the side of the great Roman Road which then ran from Deal to Canterbury, over St. Martin's Hill, and entered the town

<sup>1</sup> *Landing of St. Augustine.*

by the gateway which still marks the course of the old road. The cemetery of St. Augustine was an English Appian Way (as the church of St. Pancras was an English Cælian Hill); and this is the reason why St. Augustine's Abbey, instead of the Cathedral, has enjoyed the honour of burying the last remains of the first Primate of the English Church, and of the first King of England."<sup>1</sup>

This position outside the walls exposed the Abbey to danger. In some way or other it seems, however, to have always escaped. The monks probably purchased their safety from the Danes; but on the occasion of their terrible devastation of Kent in 1011, when they entered Canterbury, and carried off the Archbishop Alphege a prisoner to Greenwich, where they killed him, St. Augustine's was delivered, according to Thorne, through the miraculous punishment of a Dane who had laid sacrilegious hands on the covering of the altar. But the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that the Danes let the Abbot Ælfmar go free because he had betrayed the city to them.

The Abbey was in the first place dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, in which we trace again not only the pre-eminence of these two Apostles, but the estimation in which they were held at Rome. It is by this title, "The Church and Monastery of St. Peter and Paul", that Bede speaks of it. But in 978 St. Dunstan united St. Augustine himself in the dedication, and the style of the Monastery received its full proportions, "Monasterium S. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, necnon S. Augustini Apostoli Angelorum, extra et juxta muros."

Owing to the fact that the greater number of the Christian Kings of Kent, beginning with Ethelbert and his Queen Bertha, were buried here, and the first ten Archbishops, including St. Augustine, the apostle of the English, and that here was the burial-place originally for all Canterbury, the Abbey was regarded with great reverence. It seems to have had precedence, in popular esteem, of the Cathedral, which had not been from the first, and uninterruptedly, monastic, and did not contain the remains of persons of regnal distinction. It lost, indeed, the privi-

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials*, p. 25. 8vo.

lege of being the burial-place of the Archbishops in 758, through the contrivance of Archbishop Cuthbert. He gave orders that upon his death he should be quietly buried within the walls of Christ Church, and that no hint of his decease should be given for two or three days. Thus, when the bells tolled, and the Abbot and his monks went to Christ Church, according to custom, to convey the body of the Archbishop to his grave at St. Augustine's, they were informed that he was already buried, and returned in great indignation; and soon after this the line of the kings of Kent became extinct; but the Abbey continued to hold the first place in men's esteem till the fate of Becket turned the heart of England, and in some degree of all Christendom, to the scene of his martyrdom and burial.

Still St. Augustine's was ecclesiastically subject, in a manner, to Christ Church, in the person of the Archbishop, who was its head. Thus the Archbishop appointed the Abbot up to the Norman conquest,<sup>1</sup> and bestowed the benediction on him in the Cathedral, after receiving his profession of canonical obedience. Abbot Silvester, in 1151, was the first to obtain from the Pope an injunction on the Archbishop to give him the benediction at St. Augustine's, and to dispense with the promise of canonical obedience. It was obeyed with the greatest reluctance, and the privilege was not maintained in full by his successors. Abbot Roger in 1179 obtained a similar injunction from the Pope; but the Archbishop refused his benediction on those conditions, and no other English bishop would consent to act for him. Roger was forced to go to Rome to receive benediction from the Pope himself.<sup>2</sup> After this it seems to have been commonly the custom for the Abbots to receive it at Rome; but the release from professing obedience to the Archbishop was purchased by much trouble and expense.

The two foundations, Christ Church and St. Augustine's, both being wealthy, and neighbours, each having its distinct grounds for claiming pre-eminence, carried on a perpetual struggle. This began early, and lasted to the end. To illustrate this painful jealousy between brothers,

<sup>1</sup> Calcott, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Hardwicke, *Introd.*, p. xiii.

I will choose, out of several instances, one before the Norman conquest, and another after it.

The toll of the port of Sandwich belonged to the monks of Christ Church. Harold Harefoot resumed it for "fully two herring seasons. During this time there went Ælfstan, the Abbot of St. Augustine's, and got, with his lying flatteries, and with his gold and silver, from Steorra, who was the King's redesman, a right to the third penny of the toll at Sandwich." The remonstrance, however, of the monks of Christ Church with the King on this injustice, led him to command that they should "have Sandwich into Christ Church as fully and wholly as they ever had in any king's day, both in rent and stream, on strand, and in fines, and in everything which any king had ever most fully possessed before them..... The Abbot Ælfstan set to with a great help, and let dig a great canal at Hyppeles Fleót, hoping that craft would lie there just as they did at Sandwich. However, he got no good from it; for he laboureth in vain who laboureth against Christ's will. So the Abbot left it in this state, and the Convent took their own, in God's witness and St. Mary's, and all the saints' who rest at Christ Church and at St. Augustine's."<sup>1</sup>

Now we have a story on the other side. In the year 1016, Lanfranc (so Thorne tells us), at the instigation of his monks, prohibited the ringing of the bells of St. Augustine at the canonical hour unless they had been previously rung at the Cathedral (*Episcopio*), not taking heed that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. The monks made a most moving appeal to their Abbot, Scotland, a Norman, to acquaint the Pope with what was a disgrace to them, and at the same time an insult to the holy Roman see, "whose peculiar and special chapel" St. Augustine's was; but he sided with the Archbishop, and would not permit any of them to go outside of the court or even the cloister, fearing that they might in some way communicate with the Pope; and thus the monks, closely shut in, committed the injury done to themselves and their Monastery to Him Who said "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Thorne, p. 1792.



With respect to the Abbot's ecclesiastical privileges, we find that Abbot Egelin received the gift of the mitre and sandals from the Pope a little before the Norman conquest (in 1063); but that event interrupted the use of the privilege till it was restored to Abbot Roger in 1179. This gave a *quasi*-episcopal character to the Abbot. "He had plenary power in all the churches appropriated to the Monastery, or otherwise belonging to it, so that he could institute or displace the clergy of those churches; and, in a word, could exercise all kinds of jurisdiction such as bishops were accustomed to exercise in their own dioceses."<sup>1</sup> A probably unusual instance of the use of this right was the attempt of one of the Abbots to create the rural deanery of Lenham, including within it the churches belonging to the Abbey in that part of Kent.

The rank of the Abbey, in relation to other Benedictine houses, seems to have varied. In 1056 the Pope assigned the Abbot the place next to the Abbot of Monte Casino, the head of the whole order, in the councils of the Church;<sup>2</sup> but Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV, 1155-9) gave precedence to his own Abbey of St. Albans,<sup>3</sup> while the Abbot of St. Augustine's sat below the Abbots of St. Mary, York, and St. Alban's, in 1343; and in other general chapters he came after Glastonbury, but before Westminster and St. Alban's.<sup>4</sup>

The secular privileges gained from the King exempted it from "toll and Sheriff's turn."<sup>5</sup> Athelstan granted the right of a mint, which ended with the death of Silvester in 1161, in the beginning of the reign of Henry II.<sup>6</sup> The Abbot was summoned to Parliament, and had his town house in Bermondsey. Two fairs were held within the walls on the days of the translation of St. Augustine and the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. The Abbey had a court of record, where cases between its vassals were heard; and it is said to have had a gaol close by, in Longport. Rights and property needed court and defence, and the monks did not hesitate to manufacture charters and deeds when necessary. An account of the ingenuity,

<sup>1</sup> Hardwicke, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Hope, *Kent Archæol.*

<sup>5</sup> Battely, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Elm., 1056.

<sup>4</sup> Walcott, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> Sonner, p. 28.

in this point, of members of this Abbey, is found, I believe, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.<sup>1</sup>

I will pass quickly over the visits of royal and other distinguished persons, of which St. Augustine's was reckoned to have a larger share than Christ Church. One or two, however, may have a special mention. Manuel, the Emperor of the East, was entertained here in 1400, on his way from Dover to London, when he came to get help from the West against the Turks;<sup>2</sup> and it is curious to read that Henry VIII, with Jane Seymour, were very honourably received here in 1536, only two years before the suppression. But we may notice in passing the great cost of these visits. The Justiciary, I. Berwick, was entertained in 1293: all the nobility of Kent (*prelati*) were present, and sixty-six knights (*milites*). The whole number of guests was 4,500. Such occasions of peculiar hospitality, besides those of daily occurrence, taken along with royal and papal exactions, show what became of the vast revenues of religious houses, and explain why they were sometimes in debt.

The first Abbot, Peter, was only remarkable from his having been one of St. Augustine's companions, and appointed by him, and from the manner of his death. He was drowned near Ambleteuse, when sent into France on a matter of business by King Ethelbert.<sup>3</sup>

Adrian's is a more important name. He was sent by the Pope as the companion of the great Archbishop Theodore, to keep an eye upon his orthodoxy, as he was a native of Tarsus, and originally belonged to the Greek Church.<sup>4</sup> After Benedict Biscop had been Abbot for two years, Theodore appointed Adrian. The mention of him leads us to speak of another distinguishing feature in St. Augustine's. We have seen that it was intended to be a burial-place. It was also marked out as a seat of learning. As being monastic from the first, it seemed to promise greater quiet and leisure than the clergy of Christ Church were likely to have, who were more engaged in missionary work, and more connected, through the

<sup>1</sup> Brent, p. 265.      <sup>2</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxvi (viii, 85).

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 607. Th. Elm., p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *E. H.*, iv, 2; A.D. 669, Th. Elmh. Chr.; A.D. 671, Bede, *E. H.*, iv, 2.



Archbishop, with the diocese. Thus it was that St. Gregory sent a present of books to St. Augustine's, some of which were preserved to the last over the high altar. Some of them are thought still to be in existence. "They are, if so", says Dean Stanley, expanding the title which one of the Chronicles proudly gives them,<sup>1</sup> of the "*Primitiæ librorum totius ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*", "the most ancient books that ever were read in England. As the church of St. Martin is the mother church, and the Cathedral of Canterbury the mother cathedral of England, so these books are, if I may so call them, the mother books of England,—the first beginning of England's literature, of English learning, of English education; and St. Augustine's Abbey was thus the mother school, the mother university of England, the seat of letters and study, at a time when Cambridge was a desolate fen, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of waters." This character was more deeply stamped upon the place by the appointment of Adrian. Bede says of him and Theodore, "Forasmuch as both of them were well read both in sacred and secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and together with the books of Holy Writ, they also taught them the arts of poetry, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic: a testimony of which is that there are still living at this day some of their scholars who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own in which they were born."<sup>2</sup>

Albinus, Adrian's successor, was one of his scholars. A great debt of gratitude is due to him, for we have Bede's own assurance that it was he who had the chief hand in inducing him to write his Church History of the English, and supplied him with his information about Kent and all the adjoining regions. "*Auctor ante omnes atque opusculi hujus adjutor Albinus Abba..... denique hortatu præcipue ipsius Albini ut hoc opus adgredi auderem provocatus sum.*" (Pref., *E. H.*) Albinus was made Abbot in 708. In less than fifty years the Danes landed in Thanet, and began a series of ravages (753), extending into the eleventh century, through

<sup>1</sup> Th. Elmh.

<sup>2</sup> *E. H.*, iv, 2, 708.

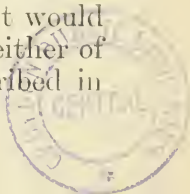
which all learning as well as prosperity was nearly extinguished. We pass to Egelsin, the last of the Saxon Abbots. I have mentioned already his receiving the right to the Mitre and Sandals (1063), in the enjoyment of which he was soon interrupted. He and the Archbishop Stigand are said to have headed the resistance of the men of Kent to the Conqueror, and to have met him at Swanscomb, where they practised the stratagem afterwards used by Macbeth, and thus obtained the confirmation of their liberties. But he never felt easy, fearing the Conqueror William on account of the part he had taken, and in 1070 he fled to Denmark (Daciam).

The vacancy was filled by the appointment of Scotland, the first Norman Abbot, whom the monks received unwillingly, as they did his successor, Wido (Guy) in 1087. However, they were in some ways good friends to the Abbey, and between them rebuilt the church. Ulfrie, the last Saxon Abbot but one, had begun to rebuild it, but Scotland pulled down his work and began afresh. A difference in the capitals in the fragment of the nave now remaining, pointed out to me formerly by Mr. Brock, probably shows where the work of Wido in this part of the church joined that of his predecessor.

*Domesday Book* was compiled in 1086, the last year of Scotland's life. In it the Abbot appears as one of the eleven tenants *in capite* who held the whole of Kent, with the exception of what the King kept to himself. The possessions occupy four columns.

In 1161, on the death of Silvester, who, as has been said, received the benediction of the Archbishop in his own church, Clarembald, a secular priest, was intruded upon the monks by the King as their Abbot. But they resisted him stoutly, not suffering him to perform any sacred functions, but acknowledging his right to the temporalities. At length, after fifteen years, on the charge of squandering the substance of the Abbey, they procured his removal by the Pope.

The names of the abbots who held office through the reign of King John are known (Roger, Clarembald's successor, 1174-1211; Alexander, 1212-20; but it would be too prosaic to ask which of them, or whether either of them, was treated by the King in the way described in



the very witty ballad of "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury". But the story, anyhow, relates to the Abbot of St. Augustine's, as there was no other.

I will now only mention the last Abbot, Essex (1523-38), who, with his thirty monks, surrendered the Abbey on July 30th, 1538, to Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> At this time the precinct of the Abbey, which is still complete, took in about 16 acres, not reckoning a park which lay to the east. The land in its possession amounted to nearly 12,000 acres. Its revenue was computed at £1,413 4s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.<sup>2</sup> The King retained the Abbey in his own hands. And here, in 1539, the year after the suppression, Anne of Cleves was lodged and feasted. In 1573 Queen Elizabeth stayed here in one of her progresses. In 1625 Charles I and Henrietta Maria stayed here at the time of their marriage in the Cathedral. They are said traditionally to have occupied the large room over the gateway. Here, too, Charles II slept on the first night of his return and restoration.

But the property had often meanwhile changed hands. Thus, Queen Mary granted it to Cardinal Pole for his life, and on his death it reverted to the Crown; in 1564 Elizabeth granted it to Lord Cobham; and on his attainder in 1603, by James I to Robert Cecil, afterwards Lord Salisbury, from whom it came to Edward Lord Wotton of Marley; at his death in 1628 he left it to his widow for her life. Her son, Thomas Lord Wotton, succeeded her, and left it to his wife Mary, who resided here during the Commonwealth. The green outside is called after her Lady Wotton's Green. At her death in 1658 it passed into the hands of Sir Edward Hales, the husband of her youngest daughter. It had passed at length out of that family into the hands of a number of small proprietors at the time when Mr. Beresford Hope bought it in 1844, and soon after dedicated it to its present use. The consecration of the chapel of the College of St. Augustine took place on St. Peter's Day, 1848.

The remains of the Abbey buildings are incorporated

<sup>1</sup> Hasted, iv, p. 657.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 658.

with the new ones of the college. Some ancient parts are clearly distinguishable, as well as the great court, the cloister, and the kitchen court. The two ancient towers still mark at each end the front, 250 ft. long, which the Abbey turned towards Canterbury and the west; while the precinct is, as I have said, entire. A most important drawing of the remains, as they were in 1655, is found in Dugdale.

On coming to particulars we find that there are no remains of the Saxon period, unless it be possibly a part of the west side of the cloister. A fragment of the north-west aisle of the nave of the church, and of Ethelbert's tower, as it was called, at the end of it, are all that remains of the Norman work. But the Trinity Hall MS. contains a drawing representing the appearance of the high altar and the screen behind it, as well as the arrangement of the shrines of Saints in the three apses, in which the church ended at the east. The length of the church, so far as it can be measured with any accuracy in the present state of the ground which covers its foundations, was 378 ft.

The chapel adjoining the hall has an Early English west end. The upper part of the gable is new, but is faithfully restored from drawings. The rest of the building was built by Mr. Butterfield, and is Middle Pointed. In the property adjoining the college are the remains of one of the menial buildings, which is also Early English.

The refectory was built in 1260-65. Hardly anything of it remains. On the north side of the cloister, on the lower part of the refectory wall, are a series of recesses, which have hitherto perplexed architects and antiquaries. Part of the gable of a chapel touching the church on the north, and formerly overlooking the lean-to roof of the west side of the cloister, still exists. According to a print of Buck's, this window is filled with what looks like Decorated tracery. To this style, too, as far as we can judge from the drawing in Dugdale, already mentioned, belonged the building on the foundations of which the college library now stands. Mr. Butterfield, at all events, used this style in the new building, which he placed upon the old concrete which was in the ground, planting the pillars, which you will see in the crypt,



upon the foundations of the old ones, and reproducing even the engaged shafts, traces of which remained on the ruined walls. The tracery of the windows he has copied from the Archbishop's palace at Mayfield in Sussex.

When we come to the room in which we are, and the neighbouring gateway, we feel surer. In 1300, in the latter part of the reign of Edward I, Abbot Tyndon procured a charter for the enlargement of the court, *i.e.*, the great court of the Abbey ("Charta de Elargatione Curie"). The existence of an Early English chapel on the south, and buildings beyond it, seems to show that the extension must have been northwards, and that this hall was one result. My only doubt is whether the simplicity of the style does not demand a rather earlier date. But there can hardly be any doubt about the gateway. In 1308 a fresh charter was granted, giving permission to crenulate the new gateway ("Charta de Crenellatione novæ Portæ"). The cemetery gate was built by Thomas Ickham, sacrist, in the time of Richard II. The style is Perpendicular, which appears again in the remains of the almonry outside on the west, where poor brothers and sisters were maintained, and a school kept.

In the Fellows' garden some work of the Tudor period is found, belonging to the Royal Palace which was made out of some parts of the buildings, the Abbot's house, as it has been thought.

May I, in conclusion, point to the moral of the history of the two great ecclesiastical foundations in Canterbury? It is, I think, the vitality belonging, in this case at least, to what is good and sacred. One of these institutions—the Cathedral Church of Christ—has lasted without break, though not without change, to this day. It has outlived corruptions in the time before the Reformation, and reproaches also in that which has followed it. Its original purpose and associations still endear it to churchmen, and they look to see it take a still firmer hold on the affection, not only of the diocese, but of the whole English Church. The sister foundation came to an end, and no one can say that the spirit of the world had not largely mingled itself with its history; but the present generation has seen its power working after three

centuries of suspended life. The liberality of sons of the Church, and chiefly of one whose name has been already mentioned, has founded again on the same spot a society, not in the old form, but in the one nearest to it which the age admits of—that of a college, an independent corporation, governed by its Warden and Fellows. And it has the same high calling as its predecessor—or, shall I say, its former self; but on a wider scale, for it sends its sons to carry the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

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AN  
UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT LIST  
OF SOME  
EARLY TERRITORIAL NAMES IN ENGLAND.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read August 1883.*)

THE division of England into counties, as we know them to-day, has been by many archaeologists attributed to King Alfred ; but it is, and long has been, well known that, previous to the erection of counties, there were territorial divisions, of large or small area, neither well known by name, nor well defined by boundaries, and probably for the most part isolated from each other by neutral forest lands—oases, so to speak, in the great primæval forest with which prehistorical England was clad. How these territories first sprung into being it is difficult at this distant period to decide. No doubt various causes operated in their several ways towards the aggregation of individual families ; intermarriages of members of contiguous homesteads, the attractive glamour of a brave man's name, the clustering of dependent families around the chieftain's domicile, the subjugation of the weak by the strong, and many other ways, readily suggest themselves as primarily operative in this way. Then comes the secondary period, when the cluster of contiguous villages, thus united to each other by friendship or necessity, made itself feared and recognised abroad, and for convenience sake received a designation by which it was known to all who had need of its amity and intercourse, to all who had reason to fear its opposition and aggression. It will be my endeavour in this paper to show that we may, in some cases at least, trace in present names some of the early names of these areas. The exact date of this secondary period of British colonization is very remote, perhaps an antiquity of several thousand years may be safely attributed to it.

Few records indeed exist which afford any clue to the

names and extent of these territories; but I have very recently discovered in the British Museum important evidence contained in a manuscript which does not appear to have been seen by those who have hitherto worked upon this point in the history of England. The MS. is of the late tenth or early eleventh century, written on a flyleaf in a copy of Ælfrie's *Latin Grammar* for the use of Anglo-Saxon, *i.e.*, Early English, students. Kemble, Gale, Pearson, and others, have printed lists of territorial names from late and faulty copies of this text; but of all the MSS. which I have been able to trace, the present, here brought for the first time before the notice of archæologists, is the oldest and the best text.<sup>1</sup> From certain indications of a technical and diacritical nature, such as, for example, the division of words at the wrong place, there can be little doubt that this MS. is a copy of an older one now lost, and my object is to lay before the Association some short notes, conjectural and tentative as they are for the most part, upon the names of some of the territories and peoples mentioned in the MS. It does not appear that the list is by any means exhaustive, for those who are familiar with the history of England from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, will easily remark the omission of some well-known historical tribes and districts, as, for example, the Magesætæ, the Meonwaras, and so forth. The MS. appears to represent in the first place a memorandum jotted down in the seventh century, from memory by an early topographer, of those tribes and their territorial or political area with which he was personally acquainted. As it stands (and as a copy of an older document), it is a most valuable record of Saxon history; and, looked at in the light which I shall endeavour to throw upon it, I venture to say it claims considerable attention at our hands.

## A.

*British Museum, Harley MS. 3271, f. 6B.*  
*10th to 11th Century.*

1. Mýrna . landes is . þrittig þusend . hýða þær mon ærest .  
 mýrna læt. 2. Þocen sætna is sýfan þusend hída. 3. Þesterna . eac

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that of five copies extant, this is the only *Saxon* copy, the other four being in Latin.

spa. 4. Pecsætna tpef hund hýða. 5. Elmed sætna sýx hund hýða. 6. Lindes farona sýfan þusend hýða mid hæþfeldlande. 7. Suþ gyrpa sýx hund hýða. 8. Norþ gyrpa sýx hund hýða. 9. East pixna þry hund hýða. 10. Þest pixna sýx hund hýða. 11. Spalda sýx hund hýða. 12. Þigesta nýgan hund hýða. 13. Herefinna tpef hund hýða. 14. Speord ora þry hund hýða. 15. Gifla þry hund hýða. 16. Hicca þry hund hýða. 17. Þiht gara sýx hund hýða. 18. Noxgaga fif þusend hýða. 19. Oht gaga tpa þusend hýða. Þæt is sýx 7 sýxtig þusend hýða 7 an hund hýða. 20. Hwinca sýfan þusend hýða. 21. Ciltern sætna feoper þusend hýða. 22. Hendrica þry þusend hýða 7 fifhund hýða. 23. Unecung ga tpef hund hýða. 24. Aro sætna sýx hund hýða. 25. Færpinga þreo hund hýða ..... is in middelenglū Færpinga. 26. Bilniga (*or perhaps* Bilunga) sýx hund hýða. 27. Þiderigga eacspa. 28. Eastpilla sýx hund hýða. 29. Þestpilla sýx hund hýða. 30. East engle þrittig þusend hida. 31. East sexena syfon þusend hýða. 32. Cantparena fiftene þusend hýða. 33. Suþ sexena syfan þusend hýða. 34. Þest sexena hund þusend hida.

Ðis calles tpa hund þusend 7 tpa 7 feopertig þusend hýða 7 syuan hund hýða.

I give the following texts gathered from later sources :

#### B.

*Spelman, Glossarium, p. 292.*

1. Myrcna continet 30,000 Hidas. 2. Woken setna, 7,000 hid. 3. Westerna, 7,000 hid. 4. Pec-setna, 1,200 hid. 5. Elmed-setna, 600 hid. 6. Lindes-farona, 7,000 hid. 7. Suth-Gyrwa, 600 hid. 8. North-Gyrwa, 600 hid. 9. East Wixna, 300 hid. 10. West Wixna, 600 hid. 11. Spalda, 600 hid. 12. Wigesta, 900 hid. 13. Herefinna, 1,200 hid. 14. Sweordora, 300 hid. 15. Eyfla, 300 hid. 16. Wicca, 300 hid. 17. Wight-gora, 600 hid. 18. Nox gaga, 5,000 hid. 19. Oht gaga, 2,000 hid. 20. Hwynca, 7,000 hid. 21. Ciltern sætna, 4,000 hid. 22. Hendrica, 3,000 hid. 23. Unecung-ga, 1,200 hid. 24. Aroseatna, 600 hid. 25. Fearfinga, 300 hid. 26. Belniga, 600 hid. 27. Witherigga, 600 hid. 28. East-willa, 600 hid. 29. West-willa, 600 hid. 30. East-Engle, 30,000 hid. 31. East-Sexena, 7,000 hid. 32. Cant-warena, 15,000 hid. 33. Suth-sexena, 7,000 hid. 34. West-sexena, 100,000 hid.

#### C.

*Brit. Mus., Claudius, D. II, f. 1, 12th Century.*

De numero hidarum Anglie in Britannia :

1. Mircheneland est de triginta [M] hidis ab eo loco ubi primum Mircheneland nominatur. 2. Porcensetene est de septem [M] hidis. 3. Pesterne eac septem [M] hidis. 4. Petsetene sex centum hides. 5. Elmet setena sex-centum hides. 6. Lindisferna septem hides. Midhepfelda. 7. Sudergipa sex hidas. 8. Nordergipa sex hidas.

9. Yeastpixna tres centum hidas. 10. Omitted. 11. Spalda sex centum hidas. 12. pitgesta octoginta hidas. 13. Herfuina sex centum et duas hid'. 14. Speodora tres centum hidas. 15. Gyfla tres centum hidas. 16. Hicca tres centum hidas. 17. Ffitgara sex centum hidas. 18. Hexgaga quinque [M] hidas. 19. Ochtgata duas hidas. 20. Hynica septem [M] hidas. 21. Ciltena seztena quatuor [M] hid. 22. Hendrica tres [M] hidas. 23. Ynetunga mille ducent' hid. 24. Aerotone .vjc. hidas. 25. Fferpinga .iii. hunt hyd. 26. Silmiliga .vjc. hid. 27. Omitted. 28, 29. Pestpell et acsi eastpele sex centum hidas. 30. Eastlega triginta hidas. 31. Eastsexe septem [M] hidas. 32. Cantparana quindecim hidas. 33. Suthsexe c' hid. 34. Omitted.

peat is calles cc. hidas et octinginta hidas.

## D.

*Gale, Rev. Angl. Scrip., iii, 748.*

Numerus Hidarum regionum quorundam Cis-Humbranarum ex  
Codice rubro Scaecarii, p. 29, collato cum MS. Cott., Claud.  
D. ii :

1. Myrena continet 30,000 Hidas. Woken-Setna 7,000 hidas. Westerna 7,000 hidas. Pecsetna 1,200 hidas. 2. Elmed-setna 600 hidas. 3. Lindes-farona 7,000 hidas. Midlethfelda ..... 4. Suth-Gýrwa 600 hidas. 5. North-Gýrwa 600 hidas. † East-Wixna 300 hidas. † West-Wixna 600 hidas. Spalda 600 hidas. 6. Wigesta 900 hidas. 7. Heresinna 1,200 hidas. 8. Sweordora 300 hidas. 9. Eyfla 300 hidas. 10. Wicca 300 hidas. 11. Wight-gora 600 hidas. 12. Nox-gaga 5,000 hidas. 13. Othgaga 2,000 hidas. 14. Hwynca 7,000 hidas. 15. Ciltern-setna 300 hidas. Hendrica 3,000 hidas. 16. Unecung-ga 1,200 hidas. Aroseatna 600 hidas. 17. Fearfinga 300 hidas. 18. Belmiga 600 hidas. Witherigga 600 hidas. 19. East-Willa 600 hidas. West-Willa 600 hidas. 20. East-Engle 30,000 hidas. East-Sexena 7,000 hidas. Cant-Warena 15,000 hidas. Suth-Sexena 100,000 hidas.

## E.

*Riley, Liber Albus, ii, 2, 626.*

De numero Hidarum Angliae in Britannia :

1. Mircheneland est de triginta [mille] hidas ab eo loco ubi primum Mircheneland nominatur. 2. Porcensetene est de septem [mille] hidis. 3. Westerne eae septem [mille] hidis. 4. Petsetene sex centum hidas. 5. Elmetsetena sex centum hidas. 6. Lindisferna septem [mille] hidas. Midhethfelda ..... 7. Sudergipa sex [centum] hidas. 8. Nordergipa sex [centum] hidas. 9. Yeastpixna tres centum hidas. 10. Omitted. 11. Spalda sex centum hidas. 12. Witgesta octingenta hidas. 13. Herfuina sex centum et duas hidas. 14. Sprodora tres centum hidas. 15. Gyfla tres centum hidas. 16. Hicca tres centum hidas. 17. Fitgara sex centum hidas.

18. Hexgaga quinque [mille] hidas. 19. Ochtgata duas [mille] hidas. 20. Hynita septem [mille] hidas. 21. Ciltenseztena quatuor [mille] hidas. 22. Hendrica tres [mille] hidas. 23. Yuetunga mille ducentas hidas. 24. Aerotone vj centum hidas. 25. Ferpinga iii hunt hidas. 26. Silimliga vi centum hidas. 27. Omitted. 28, 29. Westpell et acsi eastpele sex centum hidas. 30. Eastlega triginta [mille] hidas. 31. Eastsexe septem [mille] hidas. 32. Cantparana quindecim [mille] hidas. 33. Suthsexe Chid. 34. Omitted.

Theat is ealles, cc hidas et octingenta hidas.

## F.

*Brit. Mus., Hargrave MS. 313, f. 15b. 13th Cent.*

1. [M]yrcheneland . est . de . xxx . hidis . ab eo loco ubi primum [m]ydenelald nominatur. 2. Portensetene est de . vij . hidis. 3. Pesterne . eat . vij . hid'. 4. Pech'setena de hid'. 5. Elmethsetena . vi . hid' hund' hid'. 6. Lindesfarere . vii . hid'. Midheðfelda. 7. Sudðgytya . vi . hid'. 8. Norðgyrya . vi . hid'. 9. Estpyxna . ccc . hid'. 10. Herstina . dc . hid'. 11. Spalda . dc . hid'. 12. Þygesta . decc . hid'. 13. Hersinna . dev . hid'. 14. Speodora . ccc . hid'. 15. Gyfla . ccc . hid'. 16. Huta . ccc . hid'. 17. Þythgora . dc . hid'. 18. Hexgaga . v . hid'. 19. Gohrgaga . ii . h'. 20. Hinta . vii . hid'. 21. Cylcarnesetene . iiii . h'. 22. Hendrita . ii . h'. 23. Þnetunga . M . et . cc . h'. 24. Arotena . dc . h'. 25. Ferpinga . iii . h'. 26. Birninga [? Bilmliga] . dc . h'. 27. Þydenicga eat spa. 28. Eastpela . dc . h'. 29. Þestpela eac spa. 30. Eastengla . xxx . hid'. 31. East-sexa . vii . hid'. 32. Cantanglapparana . xv . hid'. 33. Sudesexa . c . h'.

h' is ealles . cc . hid' 7 . decc . h'.

Before commencing my remarks upon these names, it will be well to point out the proper signification which we should attribute to the word *hida*—one of the most constantly recurring names in charters and documents relating to land, from the earliest period down to the *Domesday Book* at the close of the eleventh century. Spelman's *dictum*<sup>1</sup> cannot be gainsaid, that the "Division of England by hides is very ancient, and must not be attributed to Alfred, although he marked out the island into a variety of sub-divisions, for the mention of hides occurs in the laws of Ina, who preceded Alfred by upwards of a hundred years."

Beda,<sup>2</sup> in the ninth century, uses the term *familia*,

<sup>1</sup> "Angliæ per hydas distributio perantiqua est: non Aluredo, licet insulam multifaria insignivit divisione tribuenda. Occurrit enim hydarum mentio in legibus Inæ, qui supra centum annos Aluredum præcessit."

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, p. 16.



families, or homesteads, when other authors use *hyde*, in stating numerical strength of territories and districts. William of Malmesbury, in the early part of the twelfth century, uses *hyde* as equivalent to *mansio*, a home or family,<sup>1</sup> and the same sense appears to attach to the word in a charter of Ethelwulph, dated about A.D. 845. Holinshed<sup>2</sup> contains the following passage, which is borne out by the above list (No. 31):—"Regnum Australium Saxonum dicitur continere septem mille *familias*," "The kingdom of the South Saxons is reported to consist of 7,000 families," where the word coincides with the *hides* of this ancient MS. Fanciful philology has taken pleasure in seeing in the word *hyd*, or *hide*, a *bull's skin* or *hide*, and deducing from this that a hide represented that quantity of land which could be enclosed by a bull's hide cut into strips, in accordance with the Virgilian theory (*Æn.*, lib. i) of the origin of Carthage by the ingenuity of Dido, who secured for her city and her followers:—

"*Taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.*"

We shall, however, be wiser to derive the word from the old English word *hyden*, to hide or cover (*tegere*), and then the term *hydelandes* will represent the lands appertaining to the *tectum*, or covered dwelling place, of the cultivator, whose entire holding, varying of course in proportion to the numerical strength of his family and dependants, and to their power of cultivating a greater or less amount of circumjacent land, and also to the nature of the land occupied, constituted *one hide*.<sup>3</sup> Looked at in this light, the hide cannot be taken as a constant and invariable quantity of so many acres, although undoubtedly an average might be taken where large tracts of land of uniform arability and fertility existed.

1. Myrcna, is in all probability the Mercia of the later chronicles. Eight counties were subject to the *Merchene-lagha*, or Mercian rule, viz. :—<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Regum*, lib. i.

<sup>2</sup> Part I, p. 123, col. A, l. 16.

<sup>3</sup> See Kemble's lengthy remarks on the extent of the hide, in his *Saxons in England*, ed. Birch, vol. i, pp. 88, 457; and Rev. R. Eytton, *Domesday Studies*,—*Dorsetshire and Somersetshire*. *Hida*=tributarius, in *Cartularium Saxonum*, No. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Gale, iii, 560.



Gloucestershire, with	-	-	2,300 hides, or	2,400
Worcestershire	-	-	3,200	„ 1,200
Hertfordshire, <i>i.e.</i> , Herefordshire	-	-	1,000	„ 1,005
Warwickshire	-	-	1,200	„ 1,200
Oxfordshire	-	-	2,400	„ 2,400
Cheshire	-	-	-	1,200
Staffordshire	-	-	500	-
Shropshire	-	-	-	2,400

The totals would be far short of thirty thousand hides given in the list for Mercia, but we should have to ascertain the number of hides attributed to “Boroughs” within these shires before getting the full number.

2. Wokensætna, which C, E, F, misread by placing *w* for the similarly written Saxon *w*, *p*, is said by Gale, iii, 792, to have been a people situated about Wirksworth, now Wirksworth in Derbyshire, and he adds that Beda calls them Mercians of the North, “Mercios Aquilonares.” But Wirksworth was anciently written Werchesworde and Wircesworth, and is generally supposed to have derived its name from extensive mines of lead and barytes in the vicinity, which appear to have been worked so early as the second century by the Romans, from the discovery of a pig of lead in 1777 with the name of the Emperor Adrian inscribed upon it, and subsequently by the Saxons who carried on mining operations here on an extensive scale. I am more inclined to place the Woken settlers in the modern hundred of Woking, now divided into two divisions; the first containing the parishes of Pirbright, Stoke-next-Guildford, Wanborough, Windlesham, Woking, Worplesdon, and part of Ash; the second, East and West Clandon, East and West Horsley, Narrow, Oakham, Send, and Wisley. The area of this hundred is 52,560 acres. The parish of Woking, the principal and eponymic place, was in Saxon times part of the royal demesne. The Uuoccingas of Surrey are found in the *Codex Diplom.*, No. 168, at the early date of A.D. 796.

3. *Westerna*, called by the C text Pesterna, has not been even conjecturally identified by any writer. Is it possible to find it in Ermington Hundred, an area of about 51,000 acres in the southern part of Devonshire? *Erne*, according to Gibson, is the Anglo-Saxon *earn*, or *ern* (*casa*, or *locus secretior*).

4. The *Pec-sætna*, or Pec setters, and therefore settlers, according to Pearson,<sup>1</sup> are to be sought for in the Peak-land of Derbyshire. The hundred of High Peak in the N.W. part of the county is of large extent, but I am unable to find the exact dimensions.

5. *Elmet-sætna*, the setters and settlers of Elmet, are placed by Gale in a "regiuncula" in the western part of Yorkshire near Leeds. Elmet is mentioned by Nennius and Beda, and there is still a village of Barwick-in-Elmet, seven miles to the east of Leeds in the West Riding, which marks the locality of the Elmet settlers.

6. The people here designated *Lindesarona*, called *Lin-disferna* by C and E, and still further corrupted by F into *Lindesarere*, must not be confounded with the inhabitants of the small and remote island of Lindisfarne, twelve miles from Berwick, and one mile and a half from the Northumbrian coast, formerly in Durham County, but now in the county of Northumberland. The race here mentioned are the *farers* or dwellers, in the space included between the Humber, and its continuation, the Don, on the one side, and the Lindis, or Lindum River, now called the Witham, on the other. The name of their territory is still extant in the "Northern Division" and greater half of Lincolnshire, an area of 962,000 acres, called "Lindsey" or the "Parts of Lindsey". William of Malmesbury,<sup>2</sup> writing in A.D. 1125, speaks of "*Episcopatus Lindisfarorum, qui nunc dicitur Lincolniensis*", and from his language we gather that this term was in use in the time of Edgar, A.D. 959-975. The Lindo of the Antonine Itinerary, Lindon of Ptolomey, mark the site of a British town which existed at Lincoln previously to the conquest of Britain by the Romans, whose station naturally received the name of Lindum.

We now come to two important words, "Mid hæþfeld-lande". This expression has been turned into one unmeaning word "Midlethfelda" by Gale, who writes (p. 792) "*Scriptum reperi Midhethfelda et amplius nihil.*" He evidently considers that Midhethfelda or Midlethfelda was the name of a territory, and that the number of hides it contained had been accidentally omitted by the

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Pearson's *Historical Maps of England*, p. 25, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Hamilton, *Gesta Regum*, p. 311.

person who wrote the sheet, "*scheda*", which he prints. Spelman omits the word. Kemble passes the expression over in silence. Pearson adopts "*Midlethfelda*", but ventures no explanation. The MSS. C, E, F, read *Midhethfelda*. My own suggestion is that the expression is, as written in the Harley MS., good Saxon for *with Hæthfeld-land*, i.e., *together with the territory of Hatfield*, and I shall proceed to show reason for accepting this reading.

Hatfield is a parish, township, and large village in the S. Division of Strafforth wapentake, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles S.W. of Thorne, and seven N.E. of Doncaster. It is contiguous to Lindsey, on the N. bank of the Don. A battle took place here between Cadwalla and Penda, King of Mercia, on the one side, and Eadwine of Northumbria on the other, A.D. 633, in which the latter with his son Osfrid were slain, and Northumbria ravaged. This took place on the 14th October, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. On Hatfield Heath or Moor, lying on the very edge of the county towards Lincolnshire, numerous relics of this important encounter have been found; and they are now preserved in the parish church. The parish itself formed part of Hatfield chase; and in John Tomlinson's work entitled *The Level of Hatfield Chase*, pp. 29-34, a detailed account of this incident is given from a MS. Tomlinson's map shows that Hethfeld and Hethfeld Moor are enclosed by the Don, Idille, and Torne Rivers, so as almost to form an island. In the middle of the Heath or Moor is Lyndholme, curiously recalling the *Lindis* of the "*Lindisfarena*", with whom the MS. before us has associated Hæthfeld or Hatfield. I think we may therefore take the meaning of the MS. to be that the parts of Lindsey, together with Hatfield and Hatfield Moor, are reckoned at 7,000 hides. After the battle above referred to, Hatfield ceased to be one of the king's courts, where they usually resided. There is another territory called Hatfield which forms a division of the wapentake of Bassetlaw, co. Nottingham, near Hatfield Chase, and measures about 118,320 acres in extent. This land, probably at the time of the MS. under notice, was included in the designation *Hæthfelda lande*. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* speaks of the Lindisware under A.D. 678.

7, 8. The South and North Gyrwa, each credited with 600 hides, are, according to Pearson, located in the great fen districts of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. Gale calls the former “*Australes Paludicolæ*”; the latter “*Boreales Fennicolæ*”; and seats them in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire. There is no difficulty in assigning the probable limits of these peoples.

9, 10. East Wixna, called Yeastpixna by C, E, and Eastwyxna by F, and West Wixna, omitted by C, E, and called Herstina by F, on the analogy of previous formations may, I think, be taken as a plural form, pointing to a people of the name of Wix, already at the time of the MS. under process of division or separation. I am inclined to suggest that the site of this territory, at least in part, may lie at Wickwar, the well-known parish, market town, and borough by prescription, in Gloucestershire, four miles N. of Chipping Sodbury, fifteen miles N.E. of Bristol, and twenty miles S.W. of Gloucester. If the *Wixna* are now represented by the *Weeks*, which are found in several counties, we shall have to accept one of Kemble’s theories of the primæval colonisation of England, so lucidly expressed in his *Saxons in England*, vol. i, p. 70, that of families clustering round scions of a noble warrior, or attracted by the leader possessing family relationship with a noted warrior. Thus I find, *inter alia*, Week hamlet, in Binsted, and Week tithing, in Bourne St. Mary, co. Hants; Week tithing, in Godshill, I. Wight; Weeke, or Wyke Parish, co. Hants; Week hamlet, in Glastonbury; Week hamlet, in Stogursey; Week tithing, in Wells; Week tithing, in Curry Rivell and Drayton; Week hamlet, in Brent; Week, or Wyke-Champfflower; Week St. Laurence, or Wick, all in the co. of Somerset. Four places of that name are therefore in the co. of Hants, and seven in that of Somerset. There is also Wix or Weeks in Tendring Hundred, co. Essex, the site of a Benedictine priory founded in the time of Henry I. But it has been suggested to me by Mr. J. Davidson that the sites mentioned in the MS. may be Week St. Germans, and Week St. Pancras, otherwise known as German’s-Week and Pancrasweek, in Devonshire. Gale suggests



Exney, near Newmarket, for East Wixna, and Oxney, near Peterborough, for West Wixna, and Pearson appears to accept them. I presume he means Exning, near Newmarket, co. Suffolk, on the Roman Icknield Street, for Exney. Of Oxney, near Peterborough, I find no note; but there are two Oxneys in Kent.

11. Spalda, the reading of all the texts, seems to point clearly to Spalding in Southern Lincolnshire, a place of considerable importance in Saxon times, being the capital of the extensive district called "Parts of Holland". Gale passes the word in silence; but Kemble and Pearson recognise the Spalding district as being indicated by this word.

12. Wigesta, or Wygesta of F, and Witgesta of C, E, presents considerable difficulty. Gale suggests that this territory lay around Wigisthorp or Wigsthorpe, near Oundle in Northamptonshire, and Pearson admits the identification. I see difficulties in accepting this identification, but I am unable to propose any more satisfactory solution of the question.

13. Herefinna, A, B; Herfuina, C, E; Heresinna, D; Hersinna, F, has also many difficulties in the way. Gale records Herswinna and Herewinna as *variorum* readings, and suggests Hereburrow. I am unable to find that place; the name, too, seems unlikely to be derived from Herefinna. May not this word be allied to the Heorfindas, mentioned by Kemble, vol. i, p. 466, and there referred to Harvington in Worcestershire. The Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram, M.A., Rector of that place, has recently made, in the vicinity, several finds of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon remains. They were exhibited at the recent Worcestershire Exhibition, and described in the Report.<sup>1</sup>

14. Sweord ora, a name sadly blundered in most of the MSS., but rightly, as I think, divided into two words in the text, which I have the pleasure of bringing to the notice of archæologists for the first time now, presents an opportunity of successful solution. The word *ora*, generally said to be of Latin origin, *a shore*, is found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under circumstances that prove it to have been synonymous with *ford*, for we find in A.D. 495 and 514, "Certices ora", and in A.D. 508 and 519,

<sup>1</sup> *Catal.*, 2nd edit., p. 189.



“Certices ford”. This place of historical renown, for reasons not needed to be discussed here, has been identified by Gibson in the Oxford quarto edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1692, and by Thorpe in his edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for the Master of the Rolls, as Charford, three miles and a half north of Fordingbridge in Hampshire. Ore, near Hastings; Hedsor, co. Berks., on the Thames; and Pershore in Worcestershire, a ford of the Avon, seem to be analogous in form.<sup>1</sup> For Sweordora, therefore, to be found in Swerford, in the hundred of Chadlington, Oxfordshire, five miles N.E. of Chipping Norton is, I think, only too conclusive. This village is on the River Snere, and on its “Castle Hill” are traces of ancient earthworks, the presence of which in the centre, as well as on the limits of ancient territories, is well known. Their presence at Swerford would appear to corroborate my suggestion that Sweord ora refers to the territory around Swerford. Gale suggests Swersdelf in Huntingdonshire, and Pearson reiterates this suggestion. I am, however, unable to find this place.

15. Gifla, in this MS., corresponds with Eyfla of B and D; Gyfla of C, E, and F; and Eysla, Cifla, Gyfla, of Gale, who significantly and candidly adds the letters *N. L. (non liquet)* to his note, p. 792. Kemble and Pearson, following him, read Eysla; but there is abundant proof that the MS. before us is correct in its form of the word. Parenthetically, it is curious to note that Kemble, who had printed two charters relating to Gifle (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 314) or Gyfle (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. 1290), should have been led away to this blundering reading of Eysla. It is also remarkable to note that that great author proposes

<sup>1</sup> Gibson considers Certices ora to be Yarmouth, co. Norf.; but by comparing the statements in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 495, “Her cuomon ... Cerdic 7 Cynric .. mid fif scipum in pone stede þe is geepeden *Cerdices ora*, 7 þy ilcan dæge pið ƿealum gefuhtan”, with that in 519, “Her Cerdic 7 Cynric ... fuhton pið Bryttas þær mon nu nemne *Cerdicesford*”, there can be no doubt that the same place is intended by the writer of the *Chronicle*, although he has varied the termination. The word *ora* may be connected with *over* or *ofre*, *margo* or *ripa*, an affix or prefix found in place-names like *Brownsover*, co. Warw.; *Over* on the Severn; *Over-Darwen*, etc. Analogous to this change of termination is *Ægelesford* or *Ægelesthrop*, for *Aylesford*, co. Kent. (*A.-S. Chr.*)

to identify, in his index, Gidley in Devonshire with this territory. I find *Gifle* in the well known testament of King Ælfred,<sup>1</sup> under circumstances which point to Yeovil, the supposed Roman station *Velox*, co. Somerset. The Saxon name was Gevele, and *Domesday Book* calls the place *Givele* and *Iule*. It is situated on the left bank of the river Yeo or Ivel, which here separates the counties of Somerset and Dorset.

16. Hicca of the MS. becomes Wicca in B and D. Gale passes this territory or people over in silence. Pearson sees in the name of Hwicas a connection with the Wych or Saltpan district of Worcestershire. The name would thus still be extant in Droitwich, Saltwich, Lootwich, Upwich, Nantwich, Bromwich, and some other places. For notes on a charter of Uhtred, "*Regulus Huuicciorum*", dated A.D. 770, see *Transactions of Royal Society of Literature*, vol. xi, Part III, New Series; and an exhaustive article on the Hwicas, by Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxii, p. 145. Æthelmund, the "Ealdorman of Hwiccum", occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the year 800. Thorpe calls the Hwicas "people of Worcestershire and Herefordshire, or the shires themselves" (i, p. 403).

17. Wihtgara becomes Wight-gora in B, D; Ffitgara, C, E; and Wythgora, F. The "men on Wihtgaras byrg" occur in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under A.D. 530, and subsequently. They are generally acknowledged to be located in the Island of Wight. Their fortunes appear to have been somewhat hard. Peopled by Jutes in 449, subjugated by Cerdic and Cynric in 530, ravaged in 661 by Wulfhere of Mercia, they were converted to Christianity at the same time, and ravaged again in 686 by Ceadwalla of Wessex; by the Danes in 897, 1001, 1009; visited by Canute's fleet in 1022; and finally harried in 1048. Gale says "non liquet" to this territory, and records the *variorum* reading of "Firgora".

18. Noxgaga, A, is rendered as two words, Nox gaga, B, D; it becomes Hexgaga, erroneously, in C, E, F. Kemble and Pearson divide the word thus, Noxga ga. Gale renounces the attempt to identify this district, Kemble and Pearson

<sup>1</sup> See the fine copy in the *Hyde Abbey Book*, Stowe Collection (Ashburnham), in the British Museum.

also are unable to solve the difficulty. Now I find Nox, a township in the parish of Pontesbury, co. Salop, five miles west by south of Shrewsbury; but there is nothing to connect the place with Noxgaga. But far greater probability may be ascribed to Knook, a parish in the Hundred of Heytesbury, co. Wilts, one mile south-east of Heytesbury, and five south-east of Warminster. About two miles north of Heytesbury is "Knook Castle", an ancient and very extensive earthwork of great military importance, and near to it the "Old Ditch", extending from Westbury-Leigh to Durnford, on the river Avon. On Knook Down are the sites of two villages formerly connected with the Old Ditch.

19. Oht gaga of the MSS. A, B, becomes erroneously Ochtgata in C, E, and Othgaga in D. F reads Gohrgaga. Kemble and Pearson unaccountably read Ohta-ga, and renounce the attempt to fix the locality. Gale finds a *variorum* reading of Ochtgaga; but adds that it is not clear where the district was situate. I am inclined to place the territory in Ot Moor, a marshy tract, now of 4,000 acres, but probably larger at the time this list was compiled, in Oxfordshire, about nine miles north-east of Oxford, on the bank of the river Ray, and bordered on the east by Buckinghamshire. It is bisected by a Roman road, and in close proximity to "Akeman Street", with the ancient Alcester and Bicester on the north. Near Merton, a village on the Moor, are traces of a Saxon camp. This may, perhaps, be the site of the "oht" fortress, or capital city of the tribe who possessed the territory. On the east of Ot Moor is Noke, which recalls in some way the appellation of the previous district; and close by is Oddington, a parish intersected by the Ray. With respect to the word *gaga*, forming the final part of the two words, Nox-gaga, Oht-gaga, some interesting questions arise. It may be that the word *gaga* is an integral part of the name, or that it is connected with the root of *ga*, *gang*, etc., in Teutonic languages, and points to the high or main Roman road which traversed Ot Moor, and also to the "Old Ditch", which is manifestly a road or way that connects the two ancient sites of villages on the Avon referred to in the previous paragraph. I am not sure that *gaga* may signify a *moor* in the language of the

people who used it. Perhaps it is connected with the Welsh *gag*, a cleft or ravine. Gagingwell is not very far off, in Enstone parish, near Woodstock; and in the absence of any better explanation, the form of this word would seem to corroborate the suggestion that the territory of Oht-gaga is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Ot Moor.

The MS. here casts up the total of hides as amounting to 66,100; but the following table shows that this is an error for 65,800 :

1. Mercia	-	-	30,000	11. Spalding	-	-	600
2. Woking	-	-	7,000	12. Wigesta	-	-	900 <sup>3</sup>
3. Westerna	-	-	7,000	13. Harvington	-	-	1,200 <sup>4</sup>
4. Peak	-	-	1,200 <sup>1</sup>	14. Swerford	-	-	300
5. Elmet	-	-	600	15. Yeovil	-	-	300
6. Lindsey and Hatfield	-	-	7,000	16. Hwiccas	-	-	300
7. S. Girvii	-	-	600	17. Wight	-	-	600
8. N. Girvii	-	-	600	18. Knook	-	-	5,000
9. E. Weeks	-	-	300	19. Otmoor	-	-	2,000
10. W. Weeks	-	-	300 <sup>2</sup>				
							65,800

No other MS. gives this paragraph.

20. Hwinca, A; Hwynca, B, D; Hynica, C; Hynita, E; Hinta, F. Of this, Gale writes another form, Hinica, and suggests *Wicca*; but that has been already disposed of under Hicca, No. 16. I think that this territory may be reasonably identified with Wincanton, a parish in Somersetshire. It has, however, been stated that the Saxons called this place Wyndcaleton, from its situation among the "windings of the Cale" river, by which the parish is bounded on the west. The town is on a slope rising gently from the river. Many Roman coins have been found here, and in a wood near the ruins of Stavor-dale Priory are the remains of a British fort called "Kenne-wilkins Castle." The latter part of this word is evidently connected with the territorial designation. *Kenne*, perhaps, is equivalent to *Cuno-* in British names.

To those who would reject this identification, Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, the site of a Saxon palace, will probably suggest itself. It was known as Winchelcombe, and is probably another abiding place of this tribe, ori-

<sup>1</sup> C, E, F, read 600.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted, C, E.

<sup>3</sup> C, E, F, read 600.

<sup>4</sup> C, E, 602; F, 609.



ginating under conditions similar to those referred to in a previous paragraph.

That the Hwincas were a large family in west and south-west England is abundantly clear from Winceburne, co. Dors., K., *Cod. Dipl.*, 656; Winchendun, co. Oxf., K., 709; Winecaleá, K., 123; Wincawel, co. Dors., K., 455; Wincelcumb or Wincescumb, co. Glouc., K., 199, 220, 265, 323, 509, 738, 1028; Wincelfeld, co. Berks, K., 696; Wincesburug, co. Somers., K., 502, 516; Wincheheld, co. Hants., K., 988; Wincrondel, co. Wilts., K., 460.

21. The Chiltern settlers, "Ciltern sætna" of the MS., accredited with 4,000 hides, do not, in my opinion, include the whole of the inhabitants of the Chiltern range of chalk hills extending across England from Wilts., through Berks., Oxford, and Bucks., to Suffolk. These hills were anciently covered with dense beech-woods, affording a covert for wild beasts and robbers. I think the parishes of Chiltern or Chittern, All Saints, and Chiltern St. Mary, in the Hundred of Heytesbury, co. Wilts, or Chilton, co. Bucks, indicate the locality. The village of the former is situated near the river Wiley, and in the vicinity is the prehistoric fortress or earthwork of Knook Camp, already referred to. Gale's note here is, "Incolebant Buckingamiensem et Oxoniensem pagum."

22. Of the Hendrica little can be said. Gale places this territory "circa Henley ad Tamesin". The word Hendre appears to enter into combination with many places in the west, as, for example, Hendre in Denbigh; another in Glamorgan; Hendrebiffa and Hendrefigilt in Flintshire; Hendred Draw, co. Pembroke; East or Great Hendred, and West or Little Hendred, parishes in Wantage Hundred, co. Berks., near the White Horse Vale; Hendredenny, co. Glamorgan; Hendre-gyder Isaf and Uchaf, co. Denbigh, etc. But none of these places afford any archaeological corroboration of their ancient importance. On the other hand, Henbury, five miles north-west of Bristol, appears to satisfy the questions which revolve around the Hendricas. The place itself derives its name from Hean-byrig (the old fortified place). It is bounded by the Severn on the west, and on the south-west by the Avon, which joins the former at the Swash. The Severn is passable at two places in this parish; the one at Aust,



nearly two miles wide, is identified with the Roman *Trajectus Sabrinæ*. The line of the ancient Fosse-way passed near the village; and on a hill called Blaise Castle are the remains of an ancient encampment, with triple ramparts and two deep ditches, where Roman coins have been found. The union of the British *hen* or *hean* with the Saxon *burg* or *byrig* is analogous to that found in other examples, as Glastonbury, etc.

23. To the Unecung-ga it would be equally rash to give any definite locality; unless, indeed, this *ga* or *gau* be situated on the banks of the river Onny, a small stream in Shropshire, which runs into the Teme. The name of the Hundred of Ongar, in Essex, with an area of 58,060 acres, is attractively like the ancient name here before us.

24. The Aro-Sætna may, I think, without dispute be accepted to be the settlers on the banks of the river Arrow, co. Warwick. Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.*, No 62), a charter dated A.D. 710, Arue or Arrow, co. Warwick.

25. Færpinga is, in this MS. only, glossed as being in Middle Angle territory. The variant form, Færfinga, is equally obscure; but the form of the word is manifestly very ancient. I cannot suggest any explanation.

26. Bilmiga, Belmiga, or Silimliga. Gale, p. 792, writes two other forms, Belunlige and Silimlega, and adds the letters *N. L.*, for *non liquet*. The MS. F reads Birminga. If this be the correct reading, the locality of this ancient clan may be identical with the great modern town of Birmingham, a town of undoubtedly very great antiquity; for although unconnected with events "usually called historical", says Virtue, "there is enough of definite statement, coupled with fair inference, to show that a town has existed here from a very remote period, and that its inhabitants were even then engaged, on a small scale, in the same branch of manufacturing industry as that still carried on on so vast a scale—the oldest seat of iron manufacture in England." Those who derive the name of this town from the great British tribes of Brummings and Bermings, who inhabited the vicinity, will be glad to recognise a notice of their local territory in Birminga. Birmingham appears to have been a place of importance before the Roman invasion, and to have been a seat of a small Roman station on the Icknield Street, from the

occurrence of Roman antiquities in the neighbourhood ; but there are no historical notices of this place before the latter end of the sixth century, a date quite sufficiently remote for the purposes of identification here.

If, however, Bilminga or Bilunga (for the writing is somewhat uncertain), be inapplicable to Birmingham, it is not unreasonable to suppose it to point to a clan which has now been dispersed, as far as place-name goes, among many of the midland towns and villages. Thus we find Bellingdon, co. Chesh.; Bellingham, co. Northumberland ; Belmistorpe (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, Nos. 927, 984), co. Rutland ; Billesdon, co. Leicester, with its extensive, ancient camp covering eighteen acres, and defended by a rampart and ditch,—a Roman temple is said to have stood on the site ; Billingham and Billingham, co. Lincoln ; Billinge and Billington Langho, co. Lanc. ; Billingsford, co. Norf. ; Great and Little Billington, co. Northampton ; Billingham and Billingside, co. Durham ; Billingly, co. York ; Billingshurst on the Roman Stane Street, near Horsham, Sussex ; Billingsley, co. Salop ; Billington, co. Bedford ; Billington, co. Stafford ; Billancumb or Billingscumb, Wilts. (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, Nos. 489, 572) ; Billingsbroc, co. Worc. (*C. D.*, No. 570) ; Billingsden, co. Kent (*C. D.*, No. 114) ; Billanden, Wilts. (*C. D.*, No. 379) ; and Billingsbyrig, co. Sussex (*C. D.*, No. 1000).

Among all these, Bellingham, co. Northumberland, although far to the north, appears worthy of chief consideration. The parish is of the enormous extent of 20,211 acres, chiefly moorland, on the Tyne river, with Saxon church, and in the vicinity numerous remains of ancient circular earthworks and fortifications.

27. Witherigga. This looks very like the hundred of Witheridge in Devonshire, containing 34,630 acres ; but I am unable to say if there are any remains of ancient camps on the site. One of the many parishes contained in this hundred bears the suggestive name of Woolfardesworthy, on the Creedy, in which is Berry Castle, an ancient Roman encampment, on the way to Molland. This was visited by the British Archæological Association last year.

28, 29. Eastwilla and Westwilla. I find a hundred of Willey in Bedfordshire, containing 40,460 acres ; but I

should hesitate to ascribe to it any connection with this site. Far more likely is Wylve or Wily, a parish in the hundred of Branch and Dole, co. Wilts., seven miles north-west of Wilton, on the Great Western Road, watered by the river Wylve or Wily, an affluent of the Avon. About a mile from the village is a British encampment called Badbury Rings, seventeen acres in superficial area. Yarnborough Castle, a large encampment, called Roman, but perhaps on an older site, is close by. These two ancient military sites are opposite each other, on the heights, with the river Wylve between them, and may be the East Willa and West Willa of this old list. Yarnborough Castle is on the north bank of the river, with Codford Circle, or Oldbury, an ancient entrenchment, to the west, and an extensive moor and plain to the north. Badbury or Belbury Ring is on the south bank, with the Roman road below it, to the south, leading westward to the site of a British town at Stockton Wood. The whole district glitters with evidences of early inhabitation.

The remaining territories of East Angles, East Saxons, Cantwares,<sup>1</sup> South Saxons, and West Saxons, do not offer any difficulty; but it is difficult to say if their extent tallies with the sites ascribed in later Saxon times to the districts which bear their respective names.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, "men of Kent", or Kent-men=men of the corner [land]; cf. Portuguese *canto*, a corner.

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## ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

BY REV. CANON ROUTLEDGE.

*(Read August 1883.)*

RECENT discoveries made in St. Martin's Church have rendered it necessary for me to rewrite a great portion of the account which I read before the Kentish Archæological Society two years ago; but I will endeavour to give a brief summary of the probable history of the church, starting from the evidence which is supplied by the latest explorations.

The well known sentence of Bæda, "There was near the city, towards the east, a church built of old in honour of St. Martin, while the Romans inhabited Britain", may be accepted as a true record in *substance*, though we need not press it in *detail*, so far as to cast doubt on the probable tradition that the church, originally dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was rededicated to St. Martin of Tours by Queen Bertha and her attendant Bishop, Luidhard or Leotard.

The present outside walls abound in Roman brick; but it had hitherto been supposed that none of the original church was left *in situ*, with the exception, perhaps, of a few fragments on the south side of the chancel. When, however, about a year and a half ago, we were taking down a portion of the woodwork on the south-east corner of the nave, the whitewash was scraped off underneath, and parts of an old wall were exposed to view. This wall was built of stone and rubble, with regular bonding courses of Roman brick at intervals of about 9 inches. It was also faced with Roman plastering formed of pounded brick, identical in texture with some brought from the Roman villa at Wingham. This plastering has been traced by me, some 4 or 5 feet from the ground, though-out the *south* side of the nave as far as the baptistery, and on the *north* side till within a few feet of the western wall. Looking to this and to the average thickness of the walls (about 1 foot 10 inches), as well as to the dis-

covery, at the beginning of the last century, of a tessellated Roman pavement near the church, I am inclined to hazard the conjecture that the nave was part of an old Roman villa or temple built in the fourth century, and turned into a church, by the addition of the present chancel, at a somewhat later date.

The chancel is, in a great part, built of Roman bricks laid closely and evenly on one another, with no signs of Roman plastering. On its south side two curious openings have been exposed. One is a square doorway, 6 feet high by 3 feet 4 inches wide, having a massive lintel of green sandstone above, and an equally solid threshold below. This opening had been partially closed up in mediæval times, and used apparently as a low side-window. Traces of mediæval wall-painting were found on the later splayed jamb on the west side of the opening. To the east of this is a small semicircular, arched doorway, the arch being formed of converging blocks of grey sandstone. I am inclined to assign both these openings to Roman workmanship at the end of the fourth century; and we may refer, for the occurrence of square and semicircular doorways in the same Roman building, to the instance of Jublains, in the department of Mayenne.

The original church, allowed to fall into partial ruin after the Roman evacuation of Britain, was probably restored, towards the end of the sixth century, to serve as an oratory for Queen Bertha. The Romano-Saxon building undoubtedly suffered from the fierce and general ravages of the Danes, especially at the beginning of the eleventh century; but it still maintained sufficient reputation to have given title to suffragan bishops for at least fifty years, till they finally became merged, in the time of Lanfranc, into archdeacons of Canterbury.

The interior of the church was partially restored by the Normans; but it assumed its present general shape at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, though additions and alterations have been made in several succeeding generations. Of the building as it now stands, we may roughly assign the different parts to the following periods: 1. *Roman*.—Irregular portions of the wall in the nave and in the chancel, and the two openings or doorways alluded to. 2. *Saxon*.—



Large portions of wall-masonry of a chequy pattern, *i.e.*, square stones with large interstices of sea-shore mortar; and possibly the font. 3. *Norman*.—A piscina, said to be the earliest in England, with three existing holes, which may have had some connection with the supports of a canopy; and traces of a blocked door on the north side of the nave, with straight jambs of axed Caen stone, and a semicircular head, the tympanum of which has disappeared. 4. *Early English*.—Chancel-arch, roof of nave, and blocked door or porch on the south-west side of the nave. 5. *Fourteenth century, Decorated*.—The tower and single-light windows of the nave. 6. *Beginning of fifteenth century*.—The window over the font, which is clearly half of a former two-light window. 7. *End of fifteenth century*.—The aumbry in the sanctuary. 8. *Later additions*.—The pulpit, woodwork, stained glass windows, vestry, organ-chamber, and reredos.

I have purposely omitted the buttresses, the date of which it is difficult to fix. At the angles, on both the north and south sides of the nave, are flat pilaster buttresses projecting only a few inches, and similar to those at St. Pancras; and a central convex buttress, of which I can only say that it is not unlike circular projections in the towers at Sompting and Brixworth.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I must allude—(1), to the fragment of freestone, about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, in the western impost of the semicircular chancel doorway, described by Mr. W. de Gray Birch as being of the ninth or tenth century, and apparently bearing the inscription, in Latin, “To the honour of St. . . . . and all Saints”; and (2), to a rough opening in the external wall of the nave, behind the Norman piscina. It is about 4 feet square, of a circular character, with a plastered surface, and is conjectured by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock to have been used as a churchyard light.

I will now come to the *font*, which is almost unique, being built up of various stones in different tiers. It is tub-shaped, about 2 feet 6 inches high, and consists of a rim, three tiers, and a base. The three tiers are made up of some twenty-four distinct stones rounded externally, and fitted in their place. The lower tier is embellished with a continuous pattern of scroll-work; the

second with groups of circles intertwining with one another, with the exception of one stone which has carved on it six comparatively plain circles; the third tier is of a completely different character, exhibiting arches intersecting one another. At the top is a rim, the ornamentation of which corresponds with that of the two lower tiers, except one part, in which there is a kind of dog-tooth work like stars cut in half. It has been suggested with great probability, that the upper portion of the rim was cut away to form a ledge on which a tall cover might firmly rest.

The controversy as to the date of this interesting relic is too prolonged to be entered into on the present occasion. The character of the carving naturally suggests at first that it is of the later Norman period; and undoubtedly the base is Norman, for on examining the inside of the font I found that the base consisted of a circular stone with a small square hole in the middle, the whole surface being axed or broached after the Norman fashion. But it has been contended that the carving is not necessarily contemporary with the structure of the font, and is only chiselled in a sketchy manner, for the purpose, perhaps, of ornamenting an historical relic. Truth compels me to say that though the *Saxon* date of the font is not impossible, yet it seems more probable, *primâ facie*, that it is Norman, the Caen stone of the font itself being certainly identical with that used in the base.

The church consists of a nave about 38 feet long and 25 feet wide, and a chancel 39 feet by 14 feet.

The only monument of any interest is that of Sir John Finch, who was Baron of Fordwich, Chancellor of Queen Henrietta Maria, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Keeper of the Great Seal.

Of brasses, there is one of the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the middle of the passage of the nave, inscribed with the name of Stephen Folkes and Alys his wife. There is also the effigy of Thomas Stoughton, of the date 1591, in the chancel; and another of Michael Fraunces and Jane his wife, who died in 1587.

The bells are three in number. One has no inscription, the second bears the date 1641, and on the third, in old English characters, "Sancta Caterina, ora pro nobis."

The Registers begin from the year 1662. They contain no entries of interest.

Some Saxon beads have been found in the churchyard, as well as a gold medal engraved with the name of Bishop Liudhard, and now deposited in the British Museum. A chrismatory, or *ampulla*, for holding the consecrated oil, was found on the wall-plate at the last restoration in 1845. It is probably of the fourteenth century.

The tomb on the north side of the chancel, originally shown as Queen Bertha's, probably contains the remains of the restorer of the church. It was opened at the beginning of the year 1883. Beneath the covering slab of oolite a stone coffin was discovered, hollowed out into the shape of the body, and having a small semicircular opening (about 9 inches in diameter) for the head of the corpse. This opening had been bricked off from the rest of the tomb, and made into a receptacle for fragments of bones and other human remains. These bones were pronounced by a surgeon who was present to be probably those of an elderly man, about seventy, of small proportions.

I have been obliged to sketch very briefly the history and condition of this "mother church" of England, which I believe to be the earliest existing church in the world, and whose walls have been sanctified by the preaching of St. Augustine. As I propose very shortly to write a complete account of the church, I should be very glad to receive any comments or suggestions which may be sent to me by any member of the British Archæological Association.

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## ST. MARTIN'S PRIORY, DOVER.

BY DR. E. F. ASTLEY.

*(Read Aug. 1883.)*

THE Priory of St. Martin in Dover takes its origin from the year 1130, when the buildings were commenced under Archbishop Corboil. They were probably completed under the direction of his successor, Archbishop Theobald. Taking into consideration the size and extent, the character and magnificence of the structures, the Priory must have been one of the grandest of the religious houses in England. Before its suppression the buildings seem to have fallen into a state of dilapidation, having suffered damage from the French forces at the close of the twelfth century. The Priory was surrendered to the See of Canterbury in 1535. The process of decay then went rapidly on, the materials being removed and used for various purposes, so that at the present moment, out of nine structures, three only remain in preservation—the gateway, the refectory, and the guest house.

Portions of the boundary wall, enclosing the Priory, are still in existence. The wall on the north side is in good order, but the portions on the east and west and south sides have been removed, except a small portion near the gateway. They enclosed the church of St. Martin, the chapter house, the cloisters, the dormitories, the refectory, and kitchen, all grouped closely together. At some little distance was the building known as the guesten house, on the N.E. corner, a building probably for the accommodation of some of the dependents, and on the N.W. side a capacious barn. Of these several buildings three have entirely disappeared, viz., the chapter house, the dormitories, and the barn; of three we have portions of the ruins *in situ*, viz., the church, the cloisters, and the house in the N.E. corner, and the other three are preserved and now utilised—the refectory, the guesten house, and the gateway.

In 1840 a lease for building purposes was granted to

Mr. Parker Ayers, of a large part of the Priory estate on the south side, including the boundary wall, a large part of the church, and the chapter house. Up to this date much of the foundation walls of the church and chapter house were above the ground level; and by the kindness of Mr. Ayers, who, before the demolition of these ruins took place, drew a rough plan and took the several measurements of the church and chapel, I have been furnished with the following details, the correctness of which is borne out by the fact that there are certain portions still in existence of the foundations, by which the measurement is corrected.

The external area comprised 24,971 feet, exclusive of chapter house. The internal area was 20,328 ft. The plan of the church was cruciform, with a tower in the centre of the cross. It consisted of a nave, two side aisles, north and south transepts, and choir. The length of the interior was 285 ft., the length of the transept was 155 ft. The width of the nave was 33 ft., and of each aisle 15 ft. The length of the choir was 40 ft., and the width 30 ft. The walls at the eastern end were about 7 ft. in thickness (that at the western end was about 5 ft.), and were formed of rubble, principally flint grouted with beach, gravel, and chalk-lime, with Caen stone enrichments. The roof was supported by pillars on square bases—four on each side of the nave; each base being 5 ft. square; and two on each side in the choir. These bases were found to be of Bethersden marble. There were chapels on the east side of the transepts and also in the choir. Under the foundation of the chapel, on the south-eastern corner of the choir, were found twenty-four pieces of silver coin of the date of Henry II, which were deposited in the Dover Museum by Mr. Ayers. Archæologists are indebted to this gentleman for having drawn out and preserved a plan with these details, for the ground was levelled, the foundation walls broken up and used, the bases of the pillars destroyed, and now, with the exception of a few portions which still remain as landmarks, there is nothing to indicate the grandeur and magnificence of this edifice. Portions of the carved stones which have been preserved will be pointed out, which show the elaborate workman-



ship bestowed on the fabric. Adjoining the north-eastern extremity of the transept was the chapter house. A portion of its eastern end was removed in excavating for building purposes, and Mr. Ayers preserved the measurement, which he gives at about 56 ft. by 25 ft.

The Priory estate was held under lease for many years by the family of Coleman, who, being extensively engaged in agricultural pursuits, have assisted in the preservation of the buildings which still exist. The refectory served the purpose of a barn and storehouse. The windows were mostly closed up, the doorway built up, and the roof patched and mended so as to keep out the weather. The building called the guest house, against the east end of which the cottage residence occupied by Mr. Coleman had been erected, was similarly used, and communication by a doorway into the interior assisted in its being an adjunct to his domestic arrangements. The gateway has suffered more in the way of dilapidation, but the external walls were preserved.

In 1868 Mr. Chignell, a gentleman well known in this town for his philanthropy, generosity, and love for archæology, obtained leave to make use of the refectory, having a school in one of the adjoining houses, for a recreation hall for his pupils. Having let some daylight into the hall, he saw its architectural beauties, and his mind was at once directed to its restoration. He suggested the formation of the College Company, who should lease as much of the Priory Estate as they could obtain, and restore and preserve the remaining edifices. The company was formed, and the first portion of the work of restoration was carried out under the direction of Mr. Tavernor Perry, M.R.I.A. (who published a small pamphlet on the Priory of St. Martin), Mr. Chignell undertaking the heaviest part of the expense. The roof had to be entirely renewed. In his pamphlet Mr. Perry writes thus of the refectory: "The building on the north side of the cloisters is the refectory, and it is the most important of the remains. It measures about 100 ft. in length by 27 ft. in width, and its height to the starting of the roof is 30 ft. The windows are pierced through a simple continuous arcade which runs all round the inside of the building. It will be noticed that the capitals and abaci of the

north and south sides differ from those at the end, and do not properly accord with the style of the work. These capitals were evidently inserted after the French attack, when the refectory must have been seriously damaged by fire. The windows on the south side have their sills at a higher level than those on the north, an arrangement necessitated by the height of the cloisters below. For two hundred years at least this refectory was used as a barn. Fortunately, one of the most interesting features has, nevertheless, been preserved. The large drawing of the Last Supper at the east end is, I believe, unique in England, and though so much obliterated that it has ceased to be in any way ornamental, it bears most valuable traces of what was once a great work of art."

The next building to which I would call attention is the gateway. This seems to have suffered considerably from the devastations. The outer portions appear to be partly the original construction. It was prepared for a portcullis, and was internally groined. The inner arch bears character of a later date, and was probably rebuilt without reference to the architectural character of the outer portion. At the time when the College Company became possessors of it, the gateway was in a more ruinous condition than any of the other buildings. By the munificence of the Mayor (R. Dickeson, Esq.), it was restored, and is now used as a library.

The other building which has been preserved, the guest house, like the refectory and gateway, had fallen into a sad condition. The cottage residence of Mr. Coleman communicated with it by a doorway at the east end. On removing a chimney stack the window at the east end was disclosed. The pointed arches carried on cylindrical piers with some fine Norman capitals denote its probable date. It was restored, principally by private subscriptions, under Mr. Hanson, and is now fitted up and used as a chapel to the college.

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## THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, SANDWICH.

BY R. J. EMMERSON, ESQ.

*(Read 21 August 1883.)*

THE Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Sandwich, appears by a Bull of Pope Innocent IV to have been founded by Sir Henry de Sandwich about the year 1244, in honour of St. Bartholomew, for the support of the weak and infirm, and endowed by him for that purpose; but it is clear from the evidences of the hospital that the institution commenced some years before. In the Customal of Sandwich there is mention made of three priests employed by the brothers and sisters to officiate in the chapel for the souls of certain benefactors. Such as were most liberal in their donations acquired the name of first, second, and third founders; and thus several of the family of Sandwich were successively entitled the founders, and were for the time the undoubted patrons, till Sir Nicholas de Sandwich assigned the patronage of it to the mayor and jurats of Sandwich, who from that time became the governors.

It does not appear that the hospital was actually incorporated by royal patent till the 27th Henry VIII, who confirmed the dispensation which Archbishop Cranmer made to it, which authorised the master, brothers, and their successors to hold the hospital, with all their possessions and future acquisitions, in as ample a manner as their predecessors had done, reserving to the Mayor of Sandwich all his right and interest in the premises. The total number of brothers and sisters seems to have been always sixteen.

From the Customal it appears that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though the brothers and sisters had separate rooms or chambers, they had not then distinct houses as now. The whole was one connected building, with a public hall, bakehouse, and kitchen. The hospital now consists of sixteen tenements, which

contain sixteen aged men and women, each of whom receives an annual pension of £40 per annum. The hospital is under the government of the Charitable Trustees of the Borough of Sandwich, who regulate the affairs and appoint the inmates, as vacancies occur, from residents in the town who have been reduced from better circumstances. The revenue of the hospital is about £900 per annum, derived from a farm and lands, consisting of about 340 acres. These seem to have been the benefactions of private persons; but the hospital, moreover, experienced the munificence of Royalty in a grant from King Edward III of the profits of the ferry between Sandwich and Stonar in 1349—an exemplification of which was obtained by the hospital from Henry VIII in 1525. This passage over the haven in a ferry boat being at all times inconvenient, an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1755 for building a bridge between Sandwich and Stonar, in which a clause secured to the hospital from the revenue of the bridge the annual sum of £62. It was afterwards commuted for a sum of money, and laid out in the purchase of land.

The chapel may be said to be of great interest and architectural value, dating back as it does to the thirteenth century, and is really a double work of that period. The southern half, with the remarkable doorways in the south and west front, forming the original nave and chancel, being of that or even, in part, of an earlier date; while the northern half, with the beautiful range of windows on the north wall and the fine eastern lancets, are undoubtedly in the best style of that century added to the original chapel. This arrangement of two chapels, so to call them, placed side by side, or separated by an arcade, renders the building an unusually fine and interesting specimen of the best period of Early English work. There is an altar monument covered with a slab of Sussex marble, on which is carved the figure of a man completely cased in his coat of mail, with a shield over his body and a sword lying along his left thigh. It is believed to be meant for Sir Henry de Sandwich, and the whole seems to be a cenotaph designed to commemorate him as the founder. On an examination of the supposed tomb some years ago, there was neither coffin



nor any other mark of sepulture found. The black columns on the sides of the windows on the north wall, and of the eastern lancets, are of Purbeck marble. The recess in the north wall is supposed to have been the Leper's window, through which relief was given from within to the applicant outside. The eastern lancets were filled with stained glass, representing the Crucifixion, in 1872, by Richard Harrison, Esq. (the then Chairman of the Trustees), and the work executed by Mr. Bell. The window on the north wall next to the so-called Leper's window was filled with stained glass, representing St. Cecilia, in 1874, in memory of Miss Davey of Walmer (who for some years assisted in the services at the organ), by her brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Bruce Payne, of St. George's Church, Deal, the chaplain to the hospital, who officiates once a fortnight, on Sundays, and also on St. Bartholomew's Day. The right-hand lancet in the west wall, representing an illustration of the *Nunc Dimittis*, was filled with stained glass by S. H. Payne, Esq. (brother of Dr. Payne), in memory of his relative, Miss S. E. Payne; and the left-hand lancet, representing an illustration of the *Magnificat*, by the brethren of the Sandwich Lodge of Freemasons in 1875. The work in the last-named window and lancets was executed by Messrs. Lavers and Brothers. There is a niche on the outside wall between the two lancets, which is supposed to have contained a figure.

In the year 1875 an anonymous donor presented £200 to the then Chairman of the Hospital for the east window in the main body of the chapel, representing the Ascension, which was executed by Messrs. Hardman of Birmingham. In the following year Sir Gilbert Scott visited the chapel with one of the Archæological Associations, and subsequently plans for the entire restoration were furnished by him at an estimated outlay of £2,500. The hospital having no internal resources for the purpose of restoration, an appeal was made not only to the residents in the immediate neighbourhood, but to all lovers of art and archæology who might be willing to contribute to the preservation of so fine a specimen of mediæval workmanship. In this the Rev. Thomas Wood of Northbourne Rectory (one of the trustees) took an especial interest;



the sum of £600 was raised, and the restoration of a portion of the south chapel was effected, viz., the eastern part of the roof and nave, the chancel, and chancel arch.

Again, in 1880, an anonymous donor (believed to be the one before mentioned) sent £100 to the Chapel Restoration Fund; and further contributions having been obtained, the sum of £765 was last year expended in further restoration of the south chapel, viz., the western part of the roof, and the opening out of the entire nave, part of which was previously shut off by a partition, including the doorway on the west front and the arch on the north side of the nave.

There is much left to be done to complete the chancel portion of the nave. The pavement has to be continued and to be finished in a more dignified manner than the rest of the building. Mr. Scott has suggested the pavement should be of rich encaustic tiling with marble steps, at a cost of from £70 to £90. The chancel requires oak seats and the nave oak benches, and a new pulpit would be desirable, and new altar rails; and especially a screen, which in modern times had been placed across the nave a short distance west of the chancel, has to be repaired and re-erected close to the arch as a chancel screen. Screens are also required in the arches on the north side of the chancel. The first work, however, now to be done is to secure the fabric of the north chapel, the partial examination of the roof of which, during the progress of the last work, showed that the timber work is in places much decayed, and when the work is undertaken it will be necessary to rebuild the north wall at a cost of £320 to £350.

An urgent appeal is being made to provide funds for the purpose, and at the same time to complete the restoration of the entire chapel. A new list of subscribers has been opened, upon which Sir Walter and Lady James have placed their names for £100, and there are promises of support from other persons.

In repaving the nave last year, a granite tomb or slab in good preservation was found under the floor of the chapel in the centre, about three feet from the chancel arch on the west side, with a quantity of copper coins beside it. Further examination was made in depth, and

on each side, but no coffin or any other mark of burial could be found. The slab is now lying in the western part of the nave, and the coins will be exhibited at the Guildhall. The doorway leading from the south chapel into the north chapel, with the recess or window over, and the two windows on the eastern part of the south wall of the nave, were discovered and opened during the progress of the first restoration. The west window in the main body of the chapel is now being filled with stained glass, representing St. Bartholomew, the patron saint of the hospital, in memory of Messrs. Richard and Thomas Harrison, by their nephews and nieces. The plans of Sir Gilbert Scott have been (and will continue to be) strictly observed in the restoration, every ancient feature having been retained.

Contributions towards the needful work of repair will be most gratefully received by the Restoration Committee, Messrs. R. Joynes Emmerson, Thomas Dorman, F. Baker, Rev. Thomas Wood, or by the London and County and National Provincial Banks, at their respective Sandwich branches.

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## ON THE REMAINS FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON TUMULUS AT TAPLOW, BUCKS.

BY DR. JOSEPH STEVENS.

(*Read Jan. 16, 1884.*)

THE fine tumulus which has recently been explored, and which, since its exploration, has been restored to its former dimensions, has from time immemorial occupied a conspicuous site in the old churchyard at Taplow, and has often, probably, excited in the curious a desire to know under what circumstances it was brought there, and what were the nature of its contents. Its lofty outlook embraces a view of Her Majesty's Castle at Windsor, and a lengthened sheet of the grandly wooded Thames valley extends away on the east and west below ; while its contiguity to the Thames as the great water-passage along which Romans, Saxons, and Danes, pushed their way westward during their military operations, rendered it likely, in the event it turned out to be a burial-place, to furnish remains of more than ordinary interest.

At the time of the exploration the crest of the tumulus was occupied by a dismantled yew-tree, which from its stature (its circumference being not less than 21 feet) had stood the wear and tear of several centuries, it having probably been planted there at the consecration of the old church. The old church itself was removed about the year 1855, when the churchyard was closed for burial purposes, save in the case of some families, such as the Orkneys, who formerly lived at Taplow Court, close by, and whose mausoleum occupies a site in the enclosure ; and it should be noticed here that, according to a statement made to me by Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., the graveyard contains the bones of the mother of John Milton. The dimensions of the tumulus were, 15 feet in height at the centre, its circumference being 240 feet ; and it was somewhat bell-shaped, apparently owing to

the flattening of its base, particularly on the east side, from the introduction of recent burials.

Portions of an earthwork, consisting of a vallum and ditch, are traceable on the brow of the hill over the Thames valley; and well wrought flint implements and flakes are found in the soil of the churchyard, suggesting that the place was one of very early occupation; if, indeed, it was not a British *Oppidum*. There are also evidences in their ruder as well as in their finer fictile ware, that the Romano-Britons later became occupants of the hill; and signs of parcelling out, in the shape of parallel strips of land divided by "balks", traceable in the pasture-fields on the east slope of the hill, point to what appear to have been small allotments of Saxon settlers. The definition of the word Taplow appears to be simply and sufficiently met by the Anglo-Saxon *hlæw*, a mound, and *tap* or *top* (the *a* being the equivalent of the *o*), the mound on the crest of the hill.

To the energy and perseverance of Mr. Rutland, the Honorary Secretary of the Berks Archæological and Architectural Society, we are indebted for the exploration of the mound; an exploration which was attended with considerable difficulty on account of the necessity of conducting much of the work in a gallery underneath the yew-tree. With the permission of the Rector (the Rev. Charles Whately), and with the knowledge and approbation of W. H. Grenfel, Esq., the lord of the manor, the work was commenced on Monday, October 15th, Major Cooper King of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst; Walter Money, Esq., F.S.A.; and myself, being present by invitation.

A horizontal shaft, 6 feet in width, was opened on the south side, a few feet above the level of the graveyard, in order to avoid a grave, and carried north to the centre of the mound, when a downward shaft was made till the level of the churchyard was reached, without meeting with any indications of an early interment. On October 16th a downward cutting was carried on the north side, in order to make a connection with the south cutting; and on October 17th a similar shaft was opened downwards from the west crest of the mound. The materials of the three shafts consisted chiefly of loose gravel, such

as is found forming the subsoil of the churchyard, with occasional patches of dark mould ; the east side differing in being made up of diagonal layers of gravel and mould disposed in a rude and irregular fashion. Intermingled with the gravel and earth from all the shafts were flint scrapers, cores (Plate 1, fig. 13), and flakes of various kinds in great abundance, together with wrought bones, one piece resembling an awl (Plate 1, fig. 14), and bones of animals which had been used for food. And associated with the flint implements were crocks of Romano-British vessels of various types, but chiefly of the ruder kinds, and such as implied that Roman art, at the time of their manufacture, had made but small impression on the British people. These relics were found in larger measure at the top of the mound, but were at no time absent : indeed, I myself removed a scrap of figured Samian from the base of the tumulus, quite disposing of any idea that might have been entertained regarding any interment of the Celtic period. It was evident that a mound which contained so many vestiges of the later Romans could not have been erected by the earlier Celts. With the knowledge that the grave was Anglo-Saxon, it became clear that the materials which had been used to construct the mound had contained remains of earlier peoples of which the Saxons were not cognisant, and that the upper stratifications of the mound, in which the relics were more abundant, being thrown up last, had come from lower levels than the materials which formed its base.

The work was discontinued for a few days on account of a slight accident to Mr. Rutland from the falling in of some earth from underneath the yew-tree ; but on the introduction of horizontal slabs and side-posts, the digging was carried down to the depth of 20 feet. This includes the removal of a mass of dark mould, 5 feet in depth, which occupied the grave proper, which was found to be altogether below the base of the tumulus. The turning up, at this level, of scraps of gold fringe by Mr. Rutland was followed by the discovery of a male Anglo-Saxon interment. Opportunity was sufficiently afforded to take an accurate survey of the contents of the grave, and to remove those articles which were *in situ*,



when the yew-tree sank into the excavation, carrying the bolsters with it, which necessitated the delay of some days before the grave could be completely cleared of its contents. The time occupied in the completion of the work was about three weeks. The whole of the remains were removed to Mr. Rutland's house, where they were courteously exhibited during the time they were in his possession. The relics were subsequently offered to the Trustees of the British Museum by the Rev. Charles Whately, as the custodian of the churchyard, and being accepted, were removed under the direction of Mr. Franks, F.S.A., and have found therein a satisfactory resting-place.

Before furnishing some particulars regarding the arrangement of the objects in the grave, it has occurred to me that a tabulation of the various articles, with some references to such as, from their dilapidated condition, were not easy of recognition, might be the means of avoiding some confusion; they may, therefore, be stated as consisting of the following:—

1. An iron sword, 30 inches in length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in width; wooden sheath barely traceable in the grave. (Plate 1, fig. 1.)

2. Two iron bosses (*umbones*) of shields, 5 ins. in width,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in height. (Plate 2, fig. 1.)

3. An iron link, an iron ring, large iron boss-nails, and some finer wrought studs which might have belonged to the shields.

4. An iron spear-head of Angon type, 26 ins. in length. (Plate 1, fig. 2.)

5. Two smaller spear-heads.

6. Iron; thought to be a knife (*seax*).

7. A large cauldron (tub), of 2 ft. diameter, crushed; had been lined with plain bronze.

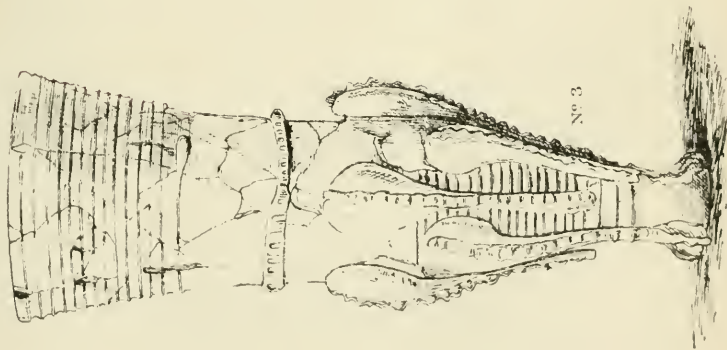
8. Two buckets of staves of wood with figured bronze bands. Sketch of fragment of one (Plate 1, fig. 3).

9. A twelve-sided, footed, bronze bowl with two handles; the foot loaded with lead; crushed. *Conjectured restoration* (Plate 1, fig. 4), 12 ins. in height, 16 ins. in diameter at the rim.

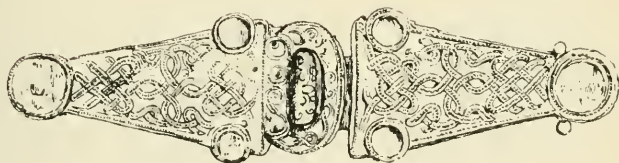
10. Four drinking glasses of remarkable character, crushed, sage-green in colour, decorated with raised lines

# ARTICLES FOUND IN THE BARROW AT TAPLOW.

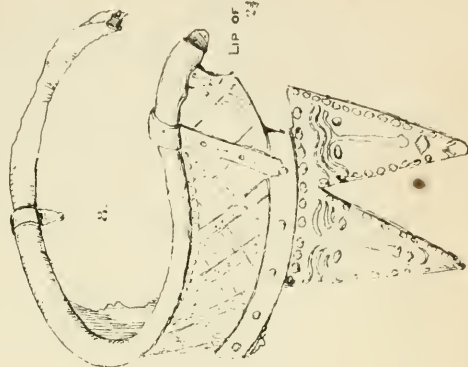
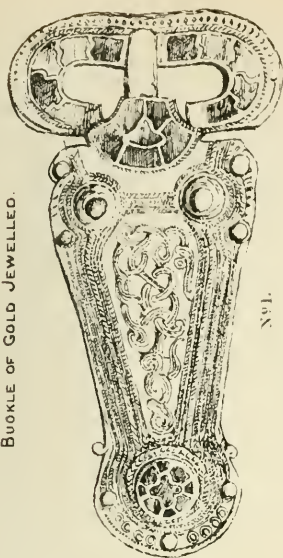
DRINKING GLASS



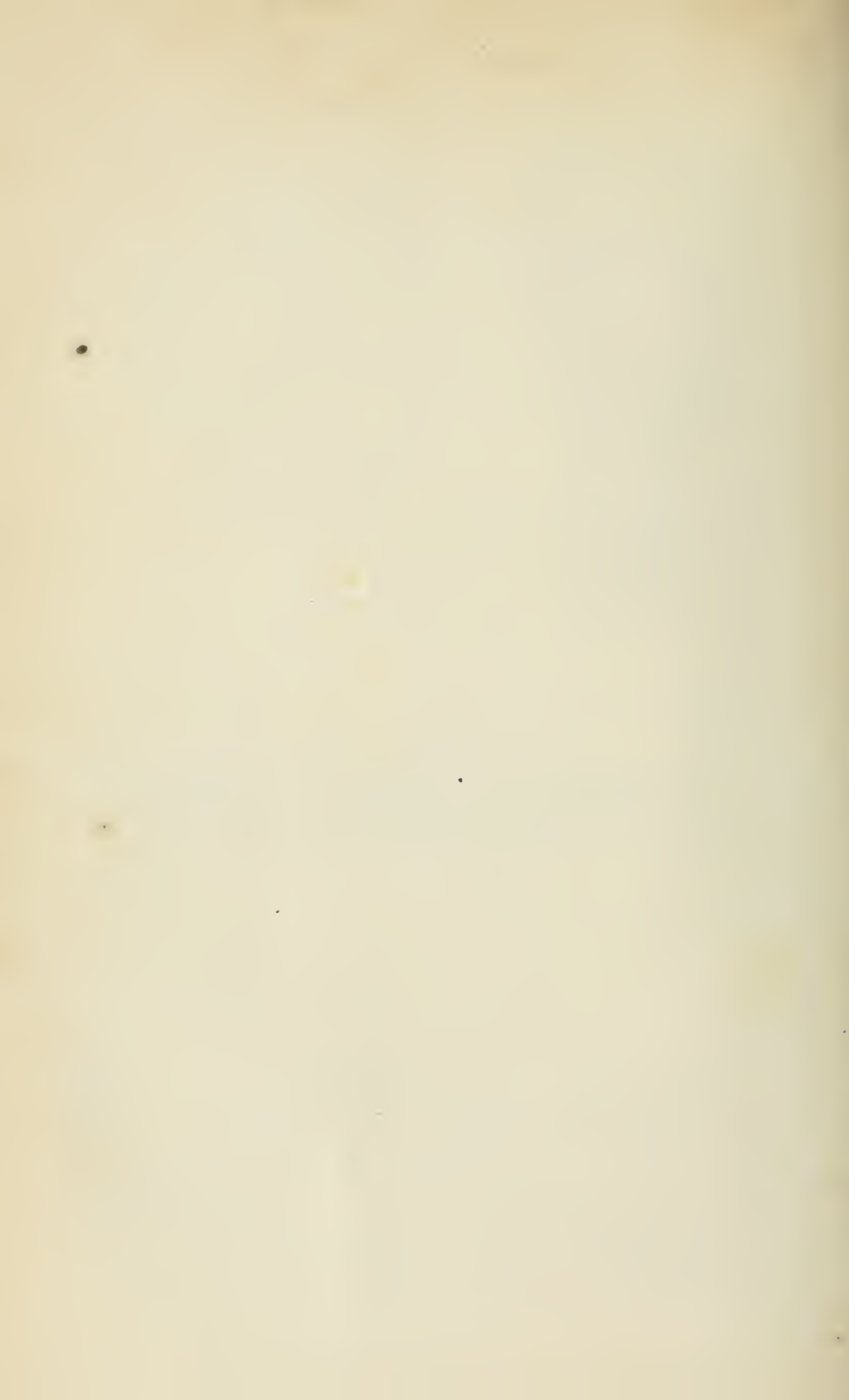
CLASPS THOUGHT TO BE GOLD



BUCKLE OF GOLD JEWELLED.



LIP OF SMALL DRINKING HORN  
 $\frac{2}{3}$  in. diameter.



and side-ornaments. (See No. 3, *restored glass*, and Plate 2, fig. 3.)

11. Two large drinking horns, crushed, with metal mounts; supposed to be gilded silver. (Plate 1, fig. 5, *diagram of restored horn*; about 18 ins. in length; lip,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  ins. in diameter.)

12. Remains of four smaller horns or cups (Plate 2, fig. 2), and broken mounts, thought to be of silver (Plate 1, figs. 6, 7, 8).

13. Shreds of gold, supposed to have formed a fringe or tissue. In the grave it extended for about 2 yards. Differed in character and width, some portions being  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. in width; another portion, five-eighths of an inch. The narrower appeared to be patterned, and there was what looked like a slip of braid. (Plate 1, fig. 9.)

14. A gold buckle, 4 ins. in length, 4 ozs. in weight, containing garnets, and what appeared to be coloured glass and pastes. This buckle probably fastened the gold tissue at the throat. (P. No. 1.)

15. Two pairs of metal clasps, thought to be of gold, and supposed to have been clasps to the girdle. (P. No. 2.)

16. A crescentic metal ornament about 6 ins. in length. (Plate 1, fig. 10.)

17. A number of bone draughtsmen with ends secured with metal pins. Height, about 1 in. (Plate 1, figs. 11, 12. Natural size and section.)

It is not easy to determine the position of articles buried with the dead, or of the relative position of all the parts of the body after lengthened interment, considerable displacement usually accruing from the unequal falling in of the earth to fill the intervals where shrinkage has occurred from decay. In the case before us many of the articles had evidently been forced away from their original resting-places. The grave had been made of the dimensions of 12 ft. by 8 ft., its long axis lying east and west, and it had been floored with fine gravel. The direction of the body in the grave could only be determined by the bones; and it is not uncommon to find all traces of the bones gone in Saxon graves. In the Taplow tumulus the porous nature of the gravel, increased by the loosening of the soil by the roots of the large yew-tree,

had disposed of all traces of the teeth and denser portions of the skull, usually among the last to decay. The only discovered evidences rested in a thigh-bone, of which about 10 inches were plainly traceable, lying on the left of the large tub, which at that time was believed to be a shield; and a good many fragments of vertebral bones, of which two bore the articulating processes by which they had been united to corresponding vertebræ. As these lay at about 3 ft. east of the femur, it is clear that the body had been placed east and west.

The only persons who made an accurate survey of the contents of the grave at the crucial moment when all the relics were intact, were Mr. Rutland, Major Cooper King, and myself, and there was a general concurrence in opinion. Taking, therefore, this as the line of the body, the contents of the grave lay in the following order. At about 3 ft. east of the femur, and a little on the left of the line of the spinal column, was found the large buckle. Still on the left, and parallel with the middle line of the body, lay the belt-clasps. They were adherent to the under side of some rotten wood, which led to the opinion that a plank had been placed across the body. The large tub and one of the buckets were crushed together, and the tub had been thrust in on the thighs, for it could hardly have originally been placed in that position. In the tub were found the two large drinking horns and two glass vessels. The shields were nearer the head of the grave, on the right, and not on the body, which is their usual position. The spears were on the right; but the larger weapon was found sticking in the gravel, at about 8 ins. above the level of the tub, showing that it had not sunk in the same ratio as the other things. On the left, but hardly in a line with the body, was discovered the sword, with traces of its wood scabbard; and still on the same side, but nearer the head of the grave, a second bucket, a drinking glass, a small horn, and the twelve-sided bronze vase; and at the extreme west, the foot of the grave, were found the draughtsmen, a fourth glass vessel, a small drinking horn, and the semi-lunar ornament.

I had almost omitted the gold fringe, which was one of the most striking objects of the interment. It ex-



tended in a wavy manner from the direction of the large buckle, and looked as if it had been left after the decay of some garment to which it had formed a trimming. Shreds of some article of dress were also present, which, on examination in a microscope, were found to be woollen. Opinions have been stated, from the multiplicity of objects, and especially from the presence of two shields, that the grave might have contained more than one interment. But it should be considered that here everything was on a grand scale. All the concomitants were unusually multiplied. It was doubtless the burial place of a great man. And as to a shield or a spear more or less, it is not beyond one's apprehension that some comrade-at-arms might, in those heroic times, have cast his spear or shield into the grave at the moment of parting from his military companion.

It is impossible to assign any exact period to the interment, but it may be approximately arrived at. Views have been entertained that the interment is Viking, and doubtless some reasons could be assigned for such opinions, looking at the contiguity of the tumulus to the Thames river, and the Scandinavian character of some of the relics. Mr. Warsaæ writes that the Vikings had not extended their excursions beyond the coast of Scandinavia till a period later than A.D. 700. But after the date A.D. 787, the time at which, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> the Danes first set foot in England, hordes of Norse rovers penetrated up the Thames. The Saxons had, however, occupied the districts along the Thames for one hundred and fifty years anterior to the advent of the Danes.

The Taplow remains contain a strongly marked Gothic element; but the same may be said of many of the objects taken from Anglo-Saxon interments, as from the graves of Kent and South Hampshire. And there is nothing remarkable in this, when it is considered that the Jutes took possession of these parts in the fifth century; and they were Goths from Jutland, which country was still, in the ninth century, called by the Anglo-Saxons *Gotland*.<sup>2</sup> It may equally be affirmed

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> *Primæval Antiquities*, Warsaæ, p. 144.

that Roman characteristics are observable, as in the case of the twelve-sided bronze vase. There is certainly nothing nautical about them; and the articles, in their general agreement with objects of a similar type, which have been exhumed from burial places in the east, west, and the south of England, leave little to warrant that they are other than Anglo-Saxon. The large gold buckle, in so far as I have been able to find, is unique; but the girdle clasps are of the same type to a buckle taken from a tumulus at Chatham;<sup>1</sup> and a similar buckle of gilt bronze was found in a tumulus on Breach Down, by Lord Albert Coningham.<sup>2</sup> A glass vessel of similar shape to those exhumed at Taplow, but with different side ornamentation, was taken from a barrow at Chessell, Isle of Wight.<sup>3</sup> Similar forms may be seen in the British Museum; and Mr. Charles Wright furnishes a representation of a drinking glass with side-knobs, found at Reculver, Kent.<sup>4</sup> Buckets are more usually found in the graves of women, or in male graves where both husband and wife are buried together. The Marlborough bucket,<sup>5</sup> taken from a tumulus near that town by Sir R. C. Hoare, and now in the Devizes Museum, is remarkable in bearing on its hoops designs of horses, typical probably in the same way as the horse-shoe symbols on the Taplow bucket, of Pagan worship of the White Horse among the Teutonic peoples, as observed on by Grimm.<sup>6</sup> It is probable also that the solar symbols on the rims of the drinking horns have a Pagan signification. The Taplow draughtsmen have their representatives in a set of twenty-five taken by Mr. Bateman from a barrow at Cold Eaton, Derbyshire; and a set may be seen at South Kensington, obtained from Kent, and manufactured apparently from ox molars. The Derbyshire specimens are oval, with dice-like dots imprinted on their facets. The drinking horns are quite Norse; but ox horns, either flexed or as cups, were universal in the homes of both the North and South Teutons; whence rose the saying that "the heroes in Walhalla should drink mead from horns".

<sup>1</sup> *Nævia Brit. Vig.*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Akerman's *Index*, p. 139.

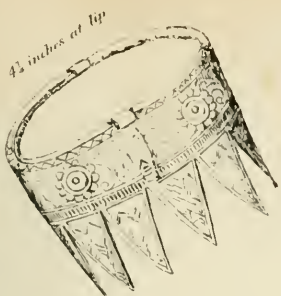
<sup>3</sup> *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. ii, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 424.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Wills* (Sir R. C. Hoare), vol. ii, Plate VI.

<sup>6</sup> *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 626, ed. 1844.

# ARTICLES FOUND IN THE BARROW AT TAPLOW.



LARGE DRINKING HORN  
RESTORED  
No 5.



SHIELD BOSS OF IRON



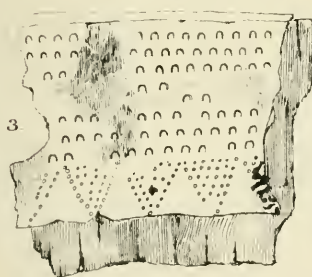
PARTS OF LIPS OF SMALL CUPS OR HORNS



PIECE OF GOLD BRAID



PORTION OF BRONZE BUCKET



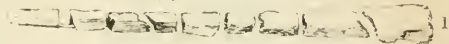
WROUGHT BONES



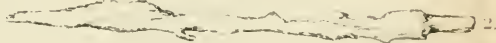
FLINT FLAKES & CORES.



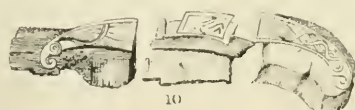
IRON SWORD



IRON SPEAR



BONE DRAUGHTSMAN





Horns of gold have been found in Scandinavia;<sup>1</sup> indeed, horns have been utilised for all sorts of purposes from Saxon down to mediæval times. They were drunk out of as cups, and blown into as instruments of alarm by the Saxons. Later, they became horns of tenure, or to contain gunpowder, or snuff; or they were drunk out of as flasks. The present brass bugle received its name from an ox or wild bull. Bugle is still a provincial name in North Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and it is not uncommon in the Island to meet with "The Bugle" as an inn sign.<sup>2</sup> It is an old English word, and is used by Sir John Mandeville:—"hornes of grete oxen, or of *bugles*, or of kygn." From the horns of this animal bugle horns were manufactured. In France the word *bugle* is still preserved in the verb *beugler*, the common French word for the lowing of cattle.

It is believed that the highly finished articles in gold and jewels in use among the Saxons were manufactured at Byzantium (Constantinople). But Mr. Akerman, in commenting on this question, expresses the opinion that unless we can be assured "that the goldsmiths of the capital of the Eastern Empire wrought these fibulæ for export to other countries, we must seek some other city as the place of their manufacture", and he considers, "in all probability that place was Paris".<sup>3</sup> In making these remarks Mr. Akerman lays stress on the manufacture as applying to buckles studded with pastes and precious stones, ornaments evidently of the same class as the Taplow buckle. In further reference to France as the place where they were wrought, he says that "in Merovingian places of sepulture which have been explored in France, though some of the relics found there differ from those found in Anglo-Saxon graves, some of the buckles are identically the same".<sup>4</sup> A great reason for believing that the Saxons did not make their own costly and better finished articles is that all their gold work in coins, excepting some exceptions which are known to have been executed abroad, is so extremely rude as to render

<sup>1</sup> *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, Worsaae, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Sign-Boards* (F. C. Hotten), p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Akerman's *Archæological Index*, p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.



it impossible that such fine work could have been executed by native artists. Quoting again from Mr. Akerman, he says that "Asser, in his life of the Great Alfred, informs us that the king brought over cunning artificers in goldsmiths' work. The artificers of this description were in such repute among the Franks that, by their law, the *wer-gyld* for a slave, who was a good worker in gold, was higher than that of a free person of humble rank. We find nothing of the kind in the Anglo-Saxon laws; and the natural inference is that the more costly articles of personal ornament were generally imported."<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the chieftain—for it seems impossible that he could have been other than a great chief—whose funeral inventory has just been reviewed, it appears unlikely that he could have lived at a time when Christianity had made much way in Saxon England.

The great size of the tumulus, the quantity of the relics, which is collectively greater than any series of the Saxon period hitherto found in this country, and the profuseness of the ornamentation, all point to a Pagan interment of early date. When we consider, however, the reverence, or rather perhaps the fondness, felt by people of all countries for ancient usages, and that Christianity made very unequal progress in England, we need not feel surprise at finding that the interment appertained to any Pagan period. I have not been able to find any notice of the tumulus in the Anglo-Saxon Charters, as a boundary mark or other, a purpose to which such conspicuous objects were frequently applied. Mr. Akerman dates these tumuli from the period of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain to the middle of the eighth century, when Christian sepulture was introduced. This comprehends a very wide margin. There is no doubt that the tumulus contained an Anglo-Saxon; and as Buckinghamshire, in which Taplow is situated, formed part of Mercia at the time of the Octarchy, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that he was a Mercian Angle of distinction.

In a short paper in a local journal, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., expresses his accordance as to the interment

<sup>1</sup> Akerman's *Index*, p. 128.

being Anglo-Saxon; and states that "he thinks it is very probable that the tumulus represents the burial place of some Saxon chieftain or leader slain in one of the many conflicts with the Danish men along the valley of the Thames, which are fully narrated in the *Saxon Chronicle* by Gaimar, and our other early historians". He then goes on to say that he desires to point out "as correlative to the subject, that at Chippenham, not far from Taplow, stood a royal residence of the Kings of Mercia, which was in later times occasionally occupied by the Kings of England of the Norman line, as is shown by the foundation charter of Burnham Abbey being dated at this place". There is no doubt that the importance of the remains, as essential to early Saxon history, will be the means of maintaining a living interest, which may in the future result in bringing to light more conclusive evidence regarding the occupant of the tumulus.

The thanks of all who are interested in the preservation of early relics are due to Mr. Rutland for the efforts made by him to secure such a valuable antiquarian acquisition; and to Major Cooper King, also, thanks should be accorded for his able assistance during the entire period of the excavations, and for the light which he has thrown on the discovered remains.

## SAUL, IN ULSTER, AND ITS LOCALITY,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO ST. PATRICK.

BY R. A. DOUGLAS LITHGOW, LL.D., F.S.A.,

F.R.S.L., ETC.

*(Read April 18, 1883.)*

FOR the early history of Ireland, previous to the introduction of Christianity about the middle of the fifth century, we are for the most part dependent upon the songs of the ancient bards, or earliest poets of the Celtic tribes, who are said to have existed in the country from the date of the supposed Milesian invasion, which, in the "Annals of the Four Masters" is fixed as A.M. 3500. Unfortunately the historical chronicles of these bardic annalists cannot be regarded as altogether trustworthy, inasmuch as the very functions which they were instituted to discharge, namely, the recountment of the heroic deeds, the exalted virtues, and the illustrious pedigrees of their Celtic chieftains, compelled them, in the composition of their eulogistic songs, to employ the glowing language of the poet rather than that of the unromantic and more prosaic annalist. Lucan<sup>1</sup> thus describes the office of the Bards:—

"You, too, ye Bards, whom sacred raptures fire  
To chaunt your heroes to your country's lyre;  
Who consecrate in your immortal strain  
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain."

In those early days poetic licence was less restrained than it is even in our own, and so we can readily understand that, in these impassioned narrations, the truthfulness of historic detail was generally subjected to the imagination of the bard, and almost invariably surrounded by a halo of romance.

Referring to this subject, a writer thus forcibly observes:—"If we are to judge of the labours of this class of historians *before* the introduction of writing, by what was accomplished by them *after* that event, we shall not

<sup>1</sup> i, 447 (Rowe).

be inclined to put much faith in their veracity; for no sooner (through the introduction of Christianity) was the story of the Creation, the lives of the Patriarchs, and episodes of classic history made known to them through early ecclesiastics, than they endeavoured, with great ingenuity, to connect their most renowned kings and chiefs with the principal personages in the Old Testament, and in the histories of Greece and Rome, and even to show that their own nation had an independent existence before the Jewish or the classic."<sup>1</sup> Whilst, however, we cannot regard the historical element in these Bardic songs as worthy of much reliance, it must be acknowledged that veritable history is found incorporated with much that is merely poetic or fictitious, although there is every reason to believe, as the writer from whom I have just quoted has pointed out, that "we are safe in regarding the substratum of fact in their narratives as belonging to a far more modern date than that ascribed to them".

The province of Ulster was one of the five provinces into which Ireland at an early period was divided, viz., Ulster, Munster, Connaught, Leinster, and Meath (the latter having become merged into Ulster and Leinster), and is the northernmost province in the country. The original name of this province was Uladh, said by Harris to have been derived from one Ulagh, a Norwegian, who flourished here long before the Christian era, and the inhabitants were called Ullta. As the Norwegians, under the title of Ost-men, did not land in Ireland until the end of the eighth century, it is probable Ulagh belonged to the Fomraigh or Sea-rovers (Fomorians), who from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, often, in early times, plundered the Irish coasts.<sup>2</sup> The modern name of the province is a compound of *Uladh* with the Norse suffix *ster*, thus constituting the word *Uladh-ster*, which in process of time became changed into Ulster. O'Flaherty says that the inhabitants of Finland, as well as those of Denmark and Norway, were called Fomorians, and there can be, at any rate, little doubt that they were a seafaring people who, during several ages, made raids upon

<sup>1</sup> *Belfast Naturalists' Field Club Papers.*

<sup>2</sup> *Harris' History of County Down.*

the Irish coast. It may here be incidentally remarked that Joyce, in his *Irish Names of Places*, interprets the Celtic name of the Giant's Causeway as meaning "the stepping-stones of the Fomorians".

We learn from the historians who flourished during the first few centuries of the Christian era, and who were careful in gleaning reliable facts from the annalists who preceded the introduction of Christianity, that the ancient province of Uladh was ruled by a succession of thirty-one kings from the year B.C. 305 to A.D. 332, who were descended for the most part from a certain Rudhraidhe Mor, and hence described as belonging to the "Clanna Rury".<sup>1</sup>

In the year A.D. 108, the head of another tribe, by name Fiatach Finn, began to reign, and is said to have become King of Ireland in A.D. 116. From him descended the Dal Fiatach; and these two tribes or families, namely the Clanna Rury and Dal Fiatach, having been at an early period engrafted into each other, became the two ruling tribes of the province.

The royal residence and seat of government for the kingdom or province of Uladh was situated about two miles west of the present city of Armagh, and called Eamhain Macha, or Emania. The palace was destroyed by "the three Collas" in A.D. 332, during their conflict with the two before-mentioned tribes; but the ruins of very extensive earth-works still remain to mark the royal dwelling of the ancient kings of Uladh.

The princes to whom I have alluded as "the three Collas", contending for the sovereignty of Ulster, succeeded in driving the two former ruling tribes into the eastern part of the province in 332, and thenceforth the name of Uladh was applied to the district now represented by the modern County of Down, and part of the County of Antrim. After this period the Dal Fiatach appear to have become the leading family in this circumscribed Uladh, for, as Dr. Reeves informs us, "they furnished it with more than three-fourths of its kings during a period of seven centuries"; and it may be here interesting to state that, from the circumscription of Uladh in 332 to A.D. 1200, sixty-seven kings ruled over this district—a list of whom is still preserved.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. Reeves.



Dr. Donovan says<sup>1</sup> that O'Flaherty and others who have written on the history of Ireland in the Latin language, have, for the sake of distinction, adopted *Ulidia* to denote the circumscribed territory to the east (*i.e.*, Down and Antrim), and *Ultonia* to denote the entire province of Ulster. After the victory of "the three Collas" over the other tribes, Uladh was subdivided into two portions, the larger and most southern being called Dalaradia, that in the north Dalriada; but, until the latter part of the twelfth century, when the Anglo-Normans invaded the North of Ireland under De Courcy, the name of Uladh was associated only with the circumscribed district to which I have just alluded.

I must here apologise for this somewhat digressive introduction, which, however, I trust has not been altogether uninteresting, inasmuch as I have endeavoured to throw a few rays of light upon the earliest history of the province, and to give a brief outline of the general district to one especial locality of which I wish to particularly direct attention.

The County of Down, or Downshire (the only county in Ireland, by the way, designated as a shire), forms the south-eastern extremity of modern Ulster, and represents the greater portion of the circumscribed Uladh—the ancient kingdom of Ulidia, to which I have already referred. On the coast of this county St. Patrick first landed as a missionary, and made his first convert in the person of the local Celtic chief. Before proceeding to inquire as to the precise locality of his landing-place as a missionary, it seems advisable to glance briefly at the condition of the country before the time of his arrival—the forms of religion which were then exercised, and the state of civilisation to which the people had attained. In order to make my narrative as consecutive as possible, I must remind you that Uladh became circumscribed in A.D. 332.

From this period to A.D. 432, the year in which St. Patrick arrived—exactly a century—there is little to record, the descendants of the chiefs whom I have already mentioned being still engaged, sometimes in friendship, oftentimes in rivalry, in the government of their respective

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Rights*, p. 36, note c.

territories; but, as a matter of fact, I may mention that Muireadhach, "the red-necked", and third of the sixty-seven kings who ruled over circumscribed Uladh, was the reigning sovereign when St. Patrick entered upon his mission.

Notwithstanding the doubt that must be associated with anything like a detailed record concerning the real condition of Ireland in these primitive times, I need have no hesitation in stating that the country had for ages been the seat of Pagan idolatry, and that the religion which obtained was "purely superstitious in its forms and tendencies". "The early inhabitants of this particular district, as of Ireland generally", we are told, "worshipped a variety of divinities, and had deities who, they supposed, presided over hills, rivers, and localities."<sup>1</sup> The Druids, in virtue of their sacerdotal functions, exercised an illimitable influence over the people; and, as David Hume says: "No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druidical priesthood, nor has any idolatrous religion ever attained such an ascendancy over mankind as that they professed."<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the introduction of Christianity the Scoti were in possession of the country, and these, according to some writers, appear to have been to a great extent the successors of a people whose name and monuments indicate a close affinity with the Belgæ of Southern Britain: for, as it is stated, "the monuments and relics which attest the presence of people considerably advanced in civilisation at some period in Ireland, such as cyclopean buildings, sepulchral mounds containing stone chambers, mines, bronze ornaments, and weapons of classic form and elegant workmanship, would appear to be referable to some of the predecessors of the Scoti.

I must not now, however, stay to inquire further into this interesting subject, especially as much doubt exists as to the accuracy of any historical records belonging to a period anterior to the introduction of Christianity.

It has been stated that, previous to the arrival of St. Patrick, Ireland was not in the state of almost absolute

<sup>1</sup> *National Encyclop.*

<sup>2</sup> For an interesting account of the Druids, *vide* Julius Cæsar's *Gallic War*, Bk. vi.

barbarism which has been represented; that the people had already acquired some knowledge of alphabetical writing, and that their Brehon laws—unwritten, like the common law of England, and abolished by statute of Edward III—manifest their possession of considerable intelligence. Nevertheless, the opinion is now generally entertained that “the Irish first became acquainted with letters through the introduction of Christianity in the first half of the fifth century,” and that “the pre-Christian origin of the Ogham character has not been established.”<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt, however, that, before the landing of St. Patrick, “Ireland, as compared with some of the Continental nations, occupied a favourable position, and was well-fitted and prepared for the reception of Christianity.”<sup>2</sup>

Many writers refer to Christian missionaries who are alleged to have preceded St. Patrick; amongst those mentioned being Cormac O’Conn, one of the native Celtic princes who flourished in the fourth century; Heber or Ibarus, St. Kieran, St. Declan, Palladius, and others; but the evidence adduced seems to indicate the existence of Christian settlements on the sea-coast rather than any general conversion in the interior. Palladius is referred to by the Venerable Bede, and it appears that he had been authorised by Pope Celestine to establish the Roman hierarchy in Ireland, but had failed in his mission, owing to the hostility which the native chieftains manifested towards him upon his arrival in the County Wicklow.

I now come to the more especial subject of this paper, namely, the arrival of St. Patrick in Saul, and his association with this small parish in Downshire, the modern representative of the ancient kingdom of Ulidia, and which is situated about a mile and a half north-east of the county town, Downpatrick, the historic *Aras-Keltair*, or *Dun-da-leth-glass*, of early times; i.e., 1, “the house or dwelling-place of Keltair”;<sup>3</sup> 2, “the hill of two halves of a chain.”

The numerous well-known biographies of St. Patrick

<sup>1</sup> *Belfast Naturalists’ Field Club Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> Formby.

<sup>3</sup> The celebrated “Keltair of the Battles”, a descendant of the Clanna Rury.

render it unnecessary for me to dwell at any length upon the earlier part of his career ; but the following concise abstract may not be altogether out of place or unacceptable. “ St. Patrick entered upon his mission in A.D. 432. The birthplace of the Saint has formed the subject of much speculation. A disciple of his contends that he was born at Dumbarton on the Clyde ; others have contended for Wales or Cornwall ; he says himself, in his *Confessions*, that he first saw the light at Bonaven of Tabernia, which Dr. Lanigan argues is Boulogne in France. We know that at an early age he was seized by pirates, and carried off to the north of Ireland, living for six years at Slemish, near Ballymena, in the County Antrim. He subsequently escaped from his bondage, and having by some means acquired a knowledge of the Christian religion, at thirty years of age he felt impelled to return to Ireland in order to instruct the natives in a knowledge of that divine truth which had so cheered and animated his own soul.”<sup>1</sup>

It is traditionally reported that St. Patrick first attempted to land at the County Wicklow, where he was repulsed by the natives ; but the alleged facts have been disputed. There can, however, be no doubt as to his having effected a landing on the coast of Down.

I may here incidentally mention that it is a matter of dispute as to whether St. Patrick was authorised to follow his mission by the Pope ; but from the nature of his teaching, and from the well-known fact that the Irish, like the ancient British, Church was entirely independent of Rome during a considerable portion of its early history,<sup>2</sup> there are many reasons to doubt that he either sought or obtained authority of any kind from the then Pontiff.

The principal ecclesiastical writers of Ireland appear to have held different views with regard to the actual landing-place of St. Patrick. Ussher, Ware, Harris, O’Flaherty, and the Lynches, contending in favour of some port in the Bay of Dundrum ; and Dr. Lanigan, author of *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, arguing with much power in favour of the Bay of Strangford, formerly called Lough Cuan. It was, however, reserved for the

<sup>1</sup> From various sources.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner.



late Mr. J. W. Hanna, an accomplished and enthusiastic antiquary, whose knowledge of Irish history, and especially of that of the County Down, was unsurpassed, to determine by indisputable evidence the precise locality in which the Saint first arrived as a missionary. For the following facts I am indebted to Mr. Hanna's pamphlet on this subject. The several *Lives* of the Saint, published by Colgan (in each of which the facts with which we are concerned are much the same), assert that St. Patrick, having proceeded northwards along the coasts of Dublin to Louth, and "passing by the kingdom of the Ultones (formerly Ulidia, now the Barony of Lecale), at length penetrated into a certain frith, which is *Brennese*, and he landed at Ostium Slain, the mouth of the Slain. There, indeed, they concealed the bark, and they came *a little distance* into the country, that they might rest there and lie down." The identification of *Brennese* and of the *mouth of the Slain*, has hitherto been the problem which required solution; and it is more than probable that the majority of those writers who have asserted their opinion in favour of the vicinity of the Bay of Dundrum were content to merely reiterate the belief of the writers who preceded them, instead of instituting any independent examination of the facts and evidences for themselves. Mr. Hanna, quoting from the before-mentioned *Lives* of St. Patrick published by Colgan, from Colgan himself, *The Book of Armagh* (compiled about A.D. 807), Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, Harris (the historian of the County Down), Dr. Lanigan, Dr. O'Donovan, and other ecclesiastical writers, comments upon their respective opinions, and by what I may term a process of exclusion is ultimately enabled to prove, beyond a doubt, that the *Fretum Brennasse* was no other than the present Lough of Strangford. The Four Masters, *ad* A.M. 2546, write: "An inundation of the sea over the land at Brena, in this year, which was the seventh lake-eruption that occurred in the time of Partholon; and this is named Lough Cuan." On which passage Dr. O'Donovan observes, "This is called Fretum Brennesse in the second and fourth *Lives* of St. Patrick published by Colgan. It was evidently the ancient name of the mouth of Strangford Lough, in the County of Down, as the lake



formed by the inundation was Loch Cuan, which is still the Irish name of Strangford Lough."

As further proof I will epitomise Mr. Hanna's own remarks: "Sailing down Strangford River, passing Audley's and Walshestown Castles, and steering in a westerly direction between Saul and Gore's Islands, in a pretty little recess or estuary you come to the mouth of a small river, having the high foreland of Ringbane (Rin-ban, "the White Promontory") to the east, and Ballintougher (Bailean-tochair, "the Town of the Causeway") to the west, which townland forms the extreme southern land-boundary of Strangford Lough. This river rises in Loughmoney, about two miles to the south, and was formerly a tidal river for upwards of a mile, nigh to the little village of Raholp. Ballintougher was a government port, included in the Ardglass Collection, in the time of Elizabeth and of James I. Latterly a battery and floodgate have been erected at its mouth for the purpose of keeping out the tide, and reclaiming the broad expanse of land at the *embouchure*.

In the *Taxation* of Pope Nicholas, made in 1306, under the Deanery of "Lechayll", in the diocese of Down, we find between the church of Cnokengarre (now Walshestown) and the church of Saul, the church of *Balibren*. Dr. Reeves, in his *Antiquities*, has been fully able to identify the church with Ballintagher, previously mentioned, on the authority of an inquisition, 3 Edward VI, which found *Ballybrene*, *alias* Ballintougher, as being of the annual value of £9 : 7 : 2, and as then appropriate to the Cistercian Nunnery of Down. No reasonable doubt can exist that the name Brenasse is the Latinised form of *brena*, entering into the composition of the name *Balibren*, instances of which frequently occur in the *Taxation*. .....Nor can there be any doubt that the land of Brena, stated to have been overflowed, and the Ballybren of the *Taxation* were identical, and imparted the name to the Fretum Brenasse."

As to the question of the locality of the river Slainge or Slan, Mr. Hanna found that the river, which has already been referred to as having its mouth between Ringbane and Ballintougher, has from time immemorial been called the Slany; and that according to the testi-

mony of several aged inhabitants with whom he conversed during his inquiry, the name had fallen into disuse since it had been embanked. A short distance outside the river are some rocks which are still known as the "Slany Rocks." The mouth of this river is scarcely two miles from Saul Church, to which I shall presently allude. The river itself exactly answers the description given in *The Book of Armagh* of the Slain. It is at the end of the Brene; it in every way agrees with all the narratives as to the journey, from the disembarkment to the meeting of the Saint with the Irish chief Dichu; and there can remain no doubt, as Mr. Hanna suggests, that the little creek at Ringbane is, indeed, the mouth of the Slain.

Dichu, son of Trichem, the chieftain of the district, met St. Patrick upon his arrival at Saul, and believing him and his companions to be robbers, was about to attack them; but being struck by the manner and appearance of the Saint, he was soon convinced of his mistake, hospitably entertained the Saint and his followers, and became his first convert to Christianity. Dichu, like most converts to a new faith, became enthusiastic in the cause, and gave St. Patrick his barn to be used temporarily as a church,—the first church founded by the Saint in Ireland. On the site of this barn a church was subsequently erected, to which Joceline<sup>1</sup> thus refers: "At the request of Dichu, who granted the soil, St. Patrick built a church, and extended it '*ab aquilonari parte versus meridianam plagam*' (from north to south)." Harris refers to this church as a "monastery for Canons Regular", and alleges that it was built in the year 432. The first abbot of this monastery was St. Patrick's disciple, St. Dunnius or Modunn, and the patron-day is the 29th of May.

The ancient *Sabhall* is fairly represented, in pronunciation, by the modern form Saul; and this small but celebrated parish is situated about a mile and a half north-east of Downpatrick, the capital of Downshire. The Latin term for Saul is *Saballum*; and that in Irish, *Sabhull* or *Sabhall Phadraig*, signifying "Patrick's Barn." In an ancient *Life of St. Patrick*, cited by Archbishop Ussher,<sup>2</sup> the following passage occurs: "There was a barn

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Patricii*, cap. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Br. Eccles. Antiq.*, cap. xvii, Works, vol. vi, p. 406.

in the place which the hero Dichu gave to the holy Patrick; and he desired that the house of God should be built towards the sun, after the form of his barn, and this he obtained from the man of God. Then the holy Bishop laid in that very place the foundation of the church mentioned, which is placed transversely from the north to the south, according to the position of the aforementioned barn. That place, from the name of the church, is called in Irish, to this day, *Sabhal Padhrig*, but in Latin, *Zabulum Patricii vel Horreum Patricii*.<sup>1</sup> In Colgan's third *Life* the circumstance is thus expressed: "Et rogavit Dichu Sanctus Patricium ne longitudo Ecclesiæ ipsius ab Occidente in Orientem verteretur, sed ab Aquilone in meridiem. Tunc Patricius in eo loco erexit Ecclesiam transversam, quæ usque hodiè dicitur Sabul Patric."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Lanigan says: "The reason assigned for its being called a barn is that it was built according to the form and position of Dichu's barn; but I should rather think that it was originally nothing else than a real barn belonging to Dichu, in which St. Patrick celebrated divine worship; in the same manner as even in our own times barns have been used in Ireland for the same purpose." "There is", says Dr. Reeves, "good reason for supposing that the word *Sabhal* or *Horreum* was, in ecclesiastical use, a technical term for a church possessing some peculiarity, such as a deviation from the ordinary rule of position"; and he quotes from O'Donnellus, who in his *Life of St. Columba*, states that "when that Saint was laying the foundations of his church, called *Dubh-reigleas*, he disposed them 'transversim, seu strigato situ', sooner than, by felling any of the dense wood which surrounded, enable them to face the east, '*quanquam ne hunc ipsum Ecclesiæ morem omnino præterire videretur, sacrum altare, ad Orientale templi latus erigi curavit.*'"<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Reeves<sup>3</sup> observes that, with few exceptions, such as the early church at Saul and another at Armagh, "the custom of building churches east and west seems to have prevailed in Ireland ever since the introduction of Christi-

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xxxi, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 23, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> l. 57, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 398, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 221.

anity"; and he alludes to a quatrain "which is preserved in several ancient MSS. as a prophecy of the Druids, foretelling the arrival of St. Patrick and his companions, and which is certainly of a very ancient date, and has reference to the position of the altar in the east of churches." Jocelin has thus paraphrased Colgan's translation from the original: "One shall arrive here having his head shaven in a circle, bearing a crooked staff, and his table shall be in the eastern part of his house, and his people shall stand behind him. He shall sing forth from his table wickedness, and all his household shall answer Amen, Amen. This man, when he cometh, shall destroy our gods, overturn their temples and their altars, and he shall subdue unto himself the kings that shall visit him, and his doctrine shall reign for ever and ever."

In Jocelin's *Vita Patricii*,<sup>1</sup> also, the following passage occurs: "*Processu temporis egregium inibi monasterium construxit, in quod perfectos monachos introduxit, ad quarum usum non longe a loco pernecessarium de terra fontem orando produxit. Huic cœnobio S. Dunnium discipulum suum abbatem constituit: ubi et ipse, de prædicatione reversus, cum eo non paucis diebus dequit.*"

The fountain here referred to was probably some of the so called holy wells which are still in existence in the neighbourhood of Saul Church, the most celebrated of which are the Holy Wells of St. Patrick at Struel, a short distance off; and to which, until a comparatively recent period, numbers of pious pilgrims resorted—some in order to have their health restored, and others to perform penance.

Here then at Saul, in the Barony of Lecale, St. Patrick had his first church, and afterwards founded his first monastery in Ulster; and from this spot, which still preserves the memory of his first triumph in the work of conversion, he began his advance into the interior of the country as the Apostle of Ireland. The missionary labours of the Saint are matters of history, and I need only remark that his wonderful success in the conversion of the people to Christianity was to a great extent the result of his intimate knowledge of the Celtic language and customs; the fact of his being able to preach

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 32.



fluently in their native tongue having, doubtless, aided him materially in reaching their hearts and influencing their minds. As Dr. Lanigan says,—“Although Christianity was not propagated in Ireland by the blood of martyrs, there is no instance of any other nation that universally received it in as short a space of time as the Irish did.”<sup>1</sup> Saul was the favourite monastery of St. Patrick, and he is said to have spent much of his time here “when enjoying temporary release from his missionary labours”; indeed, in the *Testamentum Patricii*, referred to by Ussher, a verse appears of which the following is a translation :

“Thirty years was I myself  
At Saul with purity.”

St. Patrick ended his days in the monastery of Saul, on the 17th of March A.D. 493, and was interred with great ceremony at Downpatrick. The Hymn of St. Fiech,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Sletty, thus refers to the event :

“Remansit Tassachus post eum, Quando ministravit commun-  
ionem ipsi,  
Dixit quod communicaturus esset Patricium, nec prophetia  
Tassachi erat falsa.”

The church of St. Thassach is alleged to have been that of Rathcolpa (now called Raholp), a village adjacent to Saul, and about two miles from Downpatrick. St. Thassach is styled a bishop,<sup>3</sup> and has been described as the friend and disciple of St. Patrick ; and it was from his hands that the dying Saint received his last communion : a fact referred to in the *Martyrology* of Æengus at the 14th of April :

“The royal Bishop Tassach  
Gave, when he came,  
The body of Christ, the King truly powerful,  
As communion, to Patrick.”

Upon which, says Dr. Reeves, an interlinear gloss observes,—“*i.e.*, at Rathcolp in Lecale of Ulidia ; *i.e.*, an artificer and bishop to Patrick was Tassach, and this is the festival of his death.”

No further allusion is made in early records to other bishops in this place, and it seems as if there had been

<sup>1</sup> *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iv, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves' *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



no successors; the probability being that after St. Patrick's death the bishopric was absorbed into the neighbouring and more important church of Dunlethglas (*i.e.*, Downpatrick), which afterwards became a cathedral. *The Calendar of the O'Clerys*, at the 14th of April, says: "Tassach, Bishop of Raholp, in Ulidia (*i.e.*, Lecale). This is the Tassach who gave the body of Christ to St. Patrick before his death in the monastery of Saul."

The ruins of the ancient church of Raholp are still standing, and are situated about 100 yards to the right of the road leading from Downpatrick to Ballyculter. I had recently an opportunity of examining this interesting spot, and found the ruins almost exactly as thus described by Dr. Reeves in 1847: "They are 33 ft. 4 ins. long, and 21 ft. 4 ins. wide. The south wall is overturned; the east and west walls are about 12 ft. high; the east window is about 4 ft. 6 ins. high, and 10 ins. wide, splayed inside to the width of 3 ft. 2 ins., and ends, not in an arch, but in a large flag. In building the walls, yellow clay had been used instead of mortar. The plot of ground which the ruins and cemetery occupy is about half a rood in extent, and seems, from its elevation above the surrounding field, to have been at one time a rath. The voice of antiquity ascribes the foundation of the church of Rathcolpe to St. Patrick; and at the hand of St. Tassach, its Bishop, according to the Hymn of St. Fiech, he received the Communion shortly before he died."<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that the site of the church had originally been a rath seems all the more probable from the name of the immediate locality—the word *rath*, in Irish, signifying an earthen fort or mound. The elevation extends for some distance in all directions round the ruins, and I was surprised at the hollow sound emitted by the sloping sides of the embankment when struck, which conveyed the impression that the ruins were surrounded by a series of hollow chambers or tombs.

It seems strange that a small church like that of Raholp, and within such a short distance of that of Saul, should have had a bishop to preside over it; but this is readily explained by the fact that the ordination of bishops was very frequent in the primitive Irish Church,

<sup>1</sup> Reeves' *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 39.

the qualification of ministers as to piety, learning, and zeal, being evidently thought of more importance than the claims of the district over which they were placed. Nennius, writing in the ninth century, ascribes to St. Patrick the foundation of 365 churches, the consecration of 365 bishops, and the ordination of 3,000 presbyters; and the tripartite *Life of St. Patrick*, probably written in the ninth or tenth century, increases the number of bishops ordained by St. Patrick to 370; of priests to 5,000; and of sacred edifices, founded by him, to 700. Bishop Lloyd suggests that "beside the thirty bishops which St. Patrick ordained for the bishops' sees, he also ordained as many suffragans as there were rural deaneries, in each of which there were eight or nine parish priests, taking one deanery with another".<sup>1</sup> Keating<sup>2</sup> also says: "The number of bishops.....is less to be wondered at, as it is read in ancient books that there was a bishop for every deanery in Ireland". Reeves observes:—"The great frequency of bishops in the system of Church government introduced by St. Patrick is attributable to various causes," amongst which he recognises the rapid progress of Christianity under the labours of that missionary, and further remarks that "this sudden accession of great numbers to Christianity, and the prospect of their increase, would naturally suggest the advantage of supplying abundant means to answer the demands which were likely to be made upon the ministry. Further, the civil condition of the country might have contributed to this large proportion of the higher order of the clergy".<sup>3</sup>

Another cause of the increase of bishops in Ireland, according to Dr. Reeves, was "the custom which prevailed from the commencement, of combining the episcopal and abbatial offices in the founders or superiors of religious houses; or of associating a bishop in the brotherhood, when the rector was only a priest".<sup>4</sup>

Bingham<sup>5</sup> points out that the dioceses in countries early converted were much smaller and more numerous than in those whose conversion dated from a later period;

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of Church Government*, etc., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Ireland*.

<sup>3</sup> *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Antiq.*, book ix, c. 6. Works, vol. iii, p. 151.

and Dr. Lanigan attributes the great number of bishops which characterised the church of St. Patrick to the early existence in Ireland of the order called “chorepiscopi”, or country bishops, which was suppressed through papal influence about the middle of the twelfth century (A.D. 1152), and that of rural deans substituted for it. I may here observe that, notwithstanding various attempts to bring the Irish Church under the dominion of that of Rome, this was not accomplished until 1155, when Pope Adrian IV, assuming spiritual authority over Ireland, published a bull making a grant of it to Henry II, King of England.<sup>1</sup>

A hiatus occurs in the history of the Abbey of Saul from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the eleventh. In the *Trias Thaumaturgus* of Colgan,<sup>2</sup> under the year 1011, it appears that “Kennfailad of Saul, bishop, anachorite, and pilgrim, died of the plague at Armagh”; and it is a matter of historical fact that the ancient abbey was entirely rebuilt of stone in the twelfth century, by Malachi O’Morgair, during the time he was Bishop of Down. Alluding to this circumstance, St. Bernard (who was the bishop’s contemporary), in his Life of Malachi says:—“Eodem visionis genere id quoque quod in *Saballino* situm est *antequam fieret*, præostensum est illi, non modo oratorium, sed et monasterium totum.”

In the *Annals of the Four Masters* it is casually mentioned as a church at the year 1149, but at 1156 they record the death of Maolmaadhoc Mac Dubradin, Abbot of Sabhall. At 1170 they relate that the Convent of Regular Monks, with their Abbot, whom Malachi O’Morgair, Legate of the Vicar of Peter, had placed in Sabhal Pattriac, were driven from the monastery, which they had built and adorned, and were spoiled of their books, their sacred furniture, cows, horses, sheep, and all things which they had collected in the time of the said Legate.<sup>3</sup>

This sacrilegious proceeding is thus recorded in the *Monasticon Hibernicum*:—“1170. Anlave, who had been

<sup>1</sup> For a learned and most interesting account of the episcopal office in the primitive Irish Church, to which I am indebted for most of the above facts, *vide* Reeves’ *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 123 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> P. 298.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

expelled the abbey of Drogheda for his many misdeemeanours, was made Abbot of Maghbill; and soon after, in conjunction with Eochadha, King of Ulidia, and some of his people, he drove the abbot and monks of Saul out of the abbey, which had been built by themselves, and plundered them of their books, vestments, and other holy furniture, with their herds, their flocks, and all their goods whatsoever; but this wicked action did not pass unpunished, for on that same Thursday, in the ensuing year, Eochadha and his followers fell by the sword of a much inferior enemy, and their king being desperately wounded, was, on the Thursday after, murdered by the hands of his own brother at Down, the place where this wicked deed was conceived and concluded upon; but these ecclesiastical historians, tender of the character of the Church, do not tell us what was the fate of Amlave."

To the last-mentioned work I am indebted for the following records:—

"1175. The son of the abbot of Moville was abbot of Saul, and died in this year. P——, the abbot, was a subscribing witness to Sir John de Courcey's charter to the abbey of St. Patrick in Downpatrick."

"1273. — Molys, prior of Bangor [in Down] was elected abbot; but not having obtained the royal licence, Galfrid de Stocks, Canon of Caerleon, was appointed abbot by the Bishop of Down, with the consent of Government."

"1276. G—— was elected abbot."

"1296. 29th September, the king granted a licence to this convent, to repurchase all such lands and tenements as they had formerly possessed, but which had been alienated by the predecessors of the abbot."

Dr. Reeves says that when the religious houses are mentioned in the taxation of Down, Connor, and Dromore (compiled in 1306), the name of Saul does not occur, "although it was an abbey of considerable antiquity and importance"; and accounts for the omission by surmising that the temporalities of the abbey were greatly impoverished at the time the abbot and convent of Saballum, in 1296, besought the king to grant them the licence just referred to, and represented to him that "divers lands, tenements, and rents of the abbey had been



alienated by successive abbots *in diminutionem elemosinarum et dispersionem canonicorum*.”<sup>1</sup>

“1316. The abbey was plundered by Edward Bruce.”

“1380. It was enacted that no mere Irishman should profess himself here.”

“1526. The abbot Glaisné, son of Hugh Magennis, was slain.”

“This abbey, with two castles, a garden within the site thereof, and three carucates in Saul and Meritowne *alias* Ballysugah, were granted to Gerald Earl of Kildare.”

According to the *Terrier*, the bishop was entitled to receive from the Abbey of Saule “in proxies, 3 marks ; in refectons, 3 marks ; and in synodals, 2 shillings”.<sup>2</sup>

In 1770 a Protestant church, which still exists, was built on part of the site of the ancient abbey or its cemetery, and at this period the two castles of Saul, to which I have just alluded, were almost entirely demolished, as well as the remains of the old church. Harris, the historian of the County Down, thus refers to two ancient buildings in the graveyard, which are still in much the same condition as described by the historian in 1744 :—

“There are here two small vaulted rooms of stone yet entire, about 7 ft. high, 6 ft. long, and 2½ ft. broad, with a small window placed in one side. Perhaps these small chambers were confessionals, or places of private devotion. One of these is now closed up, and used by some families for a tomb, the churchyard being a great burying-place for the natives.”

In 1871 or 1872, part of the ancient cemetery was discovered, and the graves were found lined and covered with thin flagstones, each grave containing a number of small, round, white sea-pebbles, which, it has been suggested, may have been used as beads, as similar pebbles have been found in various other ancient Irish graves. There is a petition preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, to which is attached the seal of the abbey of Saul. “On the seal is inscribed ‘S. commune capituli Sancti Patricii de Saballo.’ The abbot, vested as a priest, sits in a rich chair, holding a cross in his left hand, and

<sup>1</sup> Prynn's *Records*, vol. iii, p. 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 289 *et seq.*



raises his right hand, as in the act of giving benediction. The lower compartment of the seal exhibits a bishop—probably St. Patrick—holding a crozier.” A brass seal of the fifteenth century, found in the yard of the cathedral, Downpatrick, is now in the Belfast Museum. “The inscription on it is ‘S. Fratris Johannis, abbatis de Saballo.’ The abbot is represented fully as a priest: he holds a book in his left hand, and a crozier in his right.”<sup>1</sup>

Sculptured stones have from time to time been found in the immediate neighbourhood; but, excepting the two small stone chambers which still exist in the modern churchyard, and concerning which there is some doubt, there are no remains of either the ancient church, abbey, or castle, save the great altar-stone of the church, which I have had the privilege of examining, and which is, as Mr. Hanna says, “now used for the same holy purpose in the Catholic parish church of Saul, in the adjoining townland of Ballysugah, and of which precious relic the parishioners are naturally most excessively proud.” The glories of Saul have passed away!

I must now apologise for the incompleteness and discursiveness of the foregoing notes concerning an interesting chapter in Irish archæology, and had the time at my disposal permitted, I should have liked to make some remarks upon the cromlechs and holy wells in the interesting district which has engaged our attention; but can only hope that the Association may grant me another opportunity on some future occasion.

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<sup>1</sup> *Monasticon Hibernicum.*

## RESULTS OF A RAMBLE AT LLANGOLLEN,

SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1877.

BY DR. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

DURING the meeting of the Congress at Llangollen, I was anxious to pursue my own investigations in new channels rather than join the pleasant parties to the more usual sights tolerably well known to tourists.

In a conversation I had with a most intelligent inhabitant of Llangollen, Mr. William Jones, he incidentally referred to a place called Sarpplé, a locality that he thought might interest me, as it abounded in quaint old names and some ancient manor-houses. The name itself was a sufficient inducement, Sarpplé being equivalent to the place of the serpent ; or, according to some, flying serpent ; and *sarph* being kindred to the Sanscrit *carp*, and to the Hebrew *seraph*.

Taking the road by Glyn to Llanarmon, I was to introduce myself to Mr. Richard Morris, another highly intelligent Welshman. He at once joined me, and we went to the old house at Sarpplé, which hardly repaid investigation. From here I observed a cave in the side of a cliff, across the small river Ceiriog, which divides the valley, and my companion at once said, "That is a strange place. There are traditions about it ; and as a boy I used to play in that cave with a favourite schoolfellow. He has turned out a poet, and is known as John Ceiriog. His real name is Hughes ; and his mother, an old lady, still lives. You must hear from her the strange story of the cave. We must mount the hill, for she lives on the summit ; and we pass a curious old house at the foot, on the other side of the Ceiriog."

The hill is called "The Hill of the Old Fort", and after inspecting the manor-house we ascended it. The old fort or camp is a remarkable one. It is bisected by, or rather it encloses, a natural ridge of fine white quartz.

"This place must have a name," I remarked.

"Yes. White Stones (Ceryg-gwynion)."

“White Stones?”

“Is there anything strange in that? You see the stones are white.”

“Yes; but you abound in strange and personal names about here. Yonder is ‘The Snowy Bosom’; there is ‘The Eagle’s Head’; along that strange, old winding road, on the opposite hills, crested as they are by an occasional cairn or tumulus (or, to use your Welsh word, by the ‘tomen’ of this or that hero, as the ‘Tomen y Gwyddel’, I passed, on the hills near Pandy), and which road you call ‘Ffordd Gam Elen’, is a place that I learn from yourself is called ‘The Hollow of Demons’ (Pant yr Ellyllon), and ‘The Head of the Surety Horns’ (Pencyrn y meichiau). On another hill, you observe, some proprietor has made an extensive plantation of fir-trees in the form of a dragon, probably to perpetuate the meaning of Sarpblé; and he has not omitted the oval figure of an egg, or whatever it may represent, found near the Great Serpent Form in Ohio, and also found as an accompaniment of the incised serpents in Ireland and Scotland.”

The names and forms were admitted to be correctly given by me.

“And now look at this ridge of quartz. Itself a natural and unmolested geological feature, there have been placed upon it enormous blocks of the same stone, the two largest of which still remain, several others lying along its side, and many evidently used in building the stone fences around. These stones weigh several tons each, and yet they are carefully adjusted to their position. The intent is not very clear; but that they raised the ridge, and made it much more prominent, is evident. Also observe that the ridge is not a straight out-crop, but is quite sinuous as it continues along the summit. It has indications also of bearing gold in very small quantities, but in former days may have had more.”

“Still you mention nothing remarkable in the name.”

“Quartz is found very often in, and connected with, the sepulchres of the Keltic or other ancient inhabitants of Britain. In a tumulus I excavated for the Earl of Glasgow, in one of the islands in the Clyde, five tombs were found containing urns and bones, each tomb being carpeted with a beautiful layer of white quartz pebbles.

Quartz stones were found by Dr. Angus Smith, placed in numerical positions, in a large chambered tumulus near Loch Ettive, discovered and opened by him. I have found them repeatedly in the larger chambers of vast tumuli and dolmens in Brittany and Scotland. Mr. Hugh M'Donald, in his *Rambles round Glasgow*, describes a tumulus 120 feet in diameter, being one of a number of similar mounds, and in it was found a chamber containing twenty-five urns 'placed with their mouths downwards, and under each was a piece of *white stone*.' Rude, tessellated crosses formed of *white pebbles* were lately found in some Oriental excavations, the cross being where the head would rest in the tomb.

"So much for the *white stone*, clearly an emblem used in burial in the East as a sort of passport of purity, and apparently referred to in the holy writings of the new religion as a white stone in which a new name should be written.

"Then for the form of this white, sinuous ridge. It appears to me this was the origin of the name Sarpblé, the house of which lies just below us. And the serpent-form was an object of reverence with all ancient nations, not excepting the Hebrews, who offered incense to it. So that both the form and material of this ridge would have been sacred with the ancient people of this country; while the works of which these large stones are the remains approach the style of the very earliest lithic arrangements, and are like the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns in Greece, as far as they go."

We now approached Penybryn, the house of Mrs. Phebe Hughes, mother to the poet John Ceiriog. The house was placed near where the ridge terminated. It was just getting dark, and Mrs. Hughes was already preparing to retire, when Mr. Morris explained, in Welsh, my request that the tradition of the cave might be given me. The conversation was conducted in Welsh, and the narrative, which was evidently curtailed from the desire of Mrs. Hughes to retire, was as follows:—

In former times a man, who was a smith, lived in the cave which overhangs the river Ceiriog. This man was commanded, by some unseen powers, to make a head of brass. It was to be of great size, and to be made after

a style described to him. The smith was not to sleep during the whole time he was making the brazen head, nor until it had revealed to him *all the knowledge man could know*. The matter became known, and as soon as it was found that the head would require weeks to make, persons were directed to keep the smith awake, by pricking him with needles and pins. This continued till the smith's work was accomplished. This being so, the head began to speak, and addressing its maker stated—I will tell you first three things, and then I will explain them, and give the knowledge to you.

I know—

1st. What has been.

2nd. What is.

3rd. What will be.

The assembled people were so astounded by the sound of a voice from the head, that their guard over the smith was forgotten. This no sooner ceased than the wearied metallurgist fell asleep, and the head ceased for ever the statement it had begun.

The whole story agrees so completely with the Scandinavian myths, that it must either be assumed that such was its origin, or that the Keltic and other people coming from the East brought similar traditions with them. The magical hammer of Thor, and the sacred serpent of Scandinavia, are the prominent features throughout, and the story in part resembles the myth of Weyland Smith's cave, the stones of which are arranged in the form of *Thor's hammer*.

On the other hand, according to the legends collected by Mr. Campbell of Islay, the white serpent was sacred not only in the East, but with the Keltic mediciners, but that office was first held by the Druids; and, according to the Welsh books, a smith, in virtue of his office, was ranked as noble, and noble in some way in connection with the priestly or spiritual calling. See *Privilege and Usage among the Bards of Britain*. And as it was in Wales that this powerful priesthood retained its latest authority, it is by no means improbable that the story may have a purely Welsh origin.

For my further satisfaction, a rock-cut chamber beneath the house of Penybryn was shown me as the place where



the mystic smith made the head. That this chamber was originally a sacred place, where ceremonies were carried out, I have no doubt. The house seems to have been built to conceal or protect it.

On applying to the clergyman of the parish, the Rev. David Jones, he said that though Mrs. Hughes was a Dissenter, he knew her very well ; that though aged, she was perfectly intelligent, and commanded the respect of the whole neighbourhood for her steady religious habits, and the great integrity with which she conducted the affairs of a large farm, which was under her management. She was not a garrulous woman, the story had never been heard by him, nor, as Mr. Morris thought, for a generation past ; but it was the same story he (Mr. Morris) had heard in the same house and from the same person many times, as a boy, and although probably not repeated for upwards of thirty years, the old lady's memory had enabled her to include all the features of importance.

The old parish church had lately been pulled down, and a new one built, and in the wall of the old church were found a number of early English gold coins, in a condition as perfect as when they came from the mint. One of these, a rose-noble, I was able to secure. In the churchyard also is seen a tumulus to Saint Garmon, just as in Brittany are seen menhirs in the churchyards, showing the site was once sacred under the ancient religion of Britain.

I consider that it has been my good fortune to rescue this curious tradition from oblivion ; for Mr. Morris had nearly forgotten it, and the old lady alone was able to narrate it. The story was so strange that I requested, and obtained, Mr. Morris' signature to verify it.

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# British Archaeological Association.

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## FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING, DOVER, 1883.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 20, 1883.

THE Congress was inaugurated by a luncheon given at the Lord Warden Hotel by R. Dickeson, Esq., the Mayor of Dover, in the large room of the Hotel, the tables being beautifully decorated with flowers and fruit. The Mayor presided, and was supported by a large and brilliant gathering of the members of the Corporation, the principal officers on duty at Dover, and the officers, members, and visitors, of the British Archæological Association, and many others.

The Noble Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (Earl Granville, K.G.), President of the Association this year, would have been present, but urgent Parliamentary duties prevented him.

Grace was said by the Rev. Canon Rowsell.

In proposing the health of the Queen, the Mayor said, without in any way detracting from the address of the Corporation, which would be presented at the New Town Hall, he desired, first of all, to offer to the members of the British Archæological Association a hearty and cordial welcome. He regretted the unavoidable absence of the President, Earl Granville. That morning he had received a letter from the Noble Earl, in which he said, "I shall be extremely obliged if you will find an opportunity of stating to your guests my great regret at not being in the Cinque Ports to help to welcome so distinguished an assemblage." He (the Mayor) was sure that those feelings of regret were genuine. The Mayor also regretted the absence of the Borough Members, C. K. Freshfield, Esq., and Major Dickson, whose Parliamentary duties detained them. Referring to the subject of the toast, the Mayor remarked that no toast was more worthy of the recognition of an assembly of Englishmen. Combining with the toast "The health of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family," the Mayor said the Royal Princes did their duty at all times with a view to promote the welfare of the country.

The toast was most loyally received.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, gave the toast of "The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Clergy of the Diocesc, and Minis-

ters of all Denominations.” They, as archæologists, were accustomed to look upon the title of the Archbishop of Canterbury as perhaps the oldest in England, the Archbishops of Canterbury taking their rise from the earliest Saxon times. Archbishop Benson was an eminent archæologist. The clergy around Dover were remarkable for the care they took in preserving their most interesting churches.

The Rev. Scott-Robertson replied. He said no Archbishop who had occupied the see of Canterbury had taken greater interest in archæology than Archbishop Benson. As an instance of this they had only to look to the diocese of Truro, where they would find the commencement of a grand Cathedral, to be assured that he who planned and directed the architect must have taken great interest in architecture and archæology. There was also the Bishop of Dover, than whom there was no man who took greater interest in archæology. There were many present who could remember the interesting address he delivered when he was Chairman of the Kentish Society’s meeting at Romney. As to the clergy generally, he hoped they might always take as great an interest in archæology as the Archbishop and the Bishop of the diocese. In one way in particular the clergy were greatly indebted to archæologists, as they assisted in promoting greater sympathy between the laity and themselves, which would not be the case if such Associations were not in existence.

The Rev. R. Davey, of Dover, responded for the ministers of other denominations.

Mr. T. V. Brown proposed the toast of “The Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces.”

Major-General Newdigate, who was loudly applauded on rising to respond to the toast, in a brief but appropriate speech, remarked that every possible facility would be given to the members of the British Archæological Society to view Dover Castle.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., honorary Congress Secretary, in the absence of Lord Granville, replied to the toast. As one of the oldest members of that Association present, he said it was a matter of great pride and satisfaction to him to find the Association in the time-honoured borough of Dover, which was associated with their earliest recollections of their Cæsar readings. Nor could he help being taken back to his earlier days when he thought of the noble deeds of daring recorded of the ancient Britons in defending the shores of their native country against an invading foe. The Society, he hoped, had done some good since its inauguration in Canterbury in 1844. Since that time several kindred societies had sprung up, so that that was a proof that the interest in archæology was increasing, and that some good had been done in the establishment of their own Society. Alluding to the first Congress of the Society at Canterbury in 1844, Mr. Wright



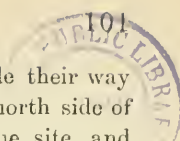
mentioned the names of several prominent gentlemen who were present at the time, but many of whom had since "gone over to the majority". Amongst those he referred to were Mr. J. R. Planché, F.S.A., afterwards Somerset Herald; Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., Hon. Sec.; Lord Albert Conyngham, K.C.H., first President of the Association, and so for many years afterwards; Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms; Dr. Barham, the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*; Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A. (editor of the *Builder*); Mr. Thos. Wright, M.A., F.S.A.; Mr. Halliwell Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A.; Mr. Crofton Croker, F.S.A.; and Mr. Thomas Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer of the Association, and its leading officer for many years. Many of these, the speaker said, had passed away; but they still had amongst them Mr. Charles Roach Smith, whose name had been justly honoured, Mr. George Godwin, and Mr. Halliwell Phillipps. He (Mr. Wright) would now ask them to drink most cordially to the health of the Mayor and Mayoress. From the moment he had had the honour to meet the Mayor, he had found him a true-hearted Englishman. He could only say that if all their Mayors were like Mr. Dickenson, they would feel indeed that they were being presided over by the descendants of Whittington.

The Mayor trusted that during the coming week the programme, which had been circulated, would be carried out to the satisfaction of everyone. The Local Committee had taken pains to ensure as much instruction as could possibly be obtained. Meetings would be held every evening in the Town Hall, and he hoped many would be present. Everything would be done to carry out the objects which the Society had in view, and he was sure nothing could have given them greater pleasure than the generous offer which had been made to afford facility for viewing the Castle. He trusted the members of the British Archæological Association would carry away with them pleasant recollections of the week they would spend at Dover.

Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, gave the toast, "Success to the Kentish Archæological Association".

Sir Walter James responded. He said he was old enough to remember the inns on the North Road. He could remember stopping at old country inns, and having sufficient time to survey the surrounding landscape, without being hurried away, as in the present day, by an express train. They then had an opportunity of inspecting the nooks and corners of old England. But those days, which were before the British Archæological Association was formed in 1844, had passed away, and let his hearers hope they had become in a more scientific manner acquainted with the nooks and corners of England.

Sir James Picton, F.S.A., proposed the health of the ladies, which was responded to by Sir Walter Stirling.



A party of upwards of two hundred persons then made their way to the extensive remains of St. Martin's Priory, on the north side of the town. Here Dr. Astley conducted the party over the site, and pointed out many interesting details which a judicious care and preservation—not restoration—have rescued from oblivion. The excellent paper read by him has been already printed at pp. 52-55.

Mr. T. Blashill, F.S.A., rejected the theory that the building constituted apartments for monks, in preference accepting the suggestion that it was used for the reception of strangers and visitors. In order to open out the aisle, a new arch has been cut through the original wall, between two arches on the north side. Mr. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., adduced evidence showing the position of the original entrance, and endorsed the opinion of the late Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, that this building was the prior's house, placed, as it rightly should be, opposite the gateway of the priory. Canon Scott-Robertson made the suggestion that this was a bakehouse and brewhouse, in analogy with a somewhat similar building at Canterbury. The aisle placed on one side of a secular house is seen at Canterbury and elsewhere. The large fireplace certainly favours the theory that the edifice was used as a bakehouse or for other culinary purposes.

An adjournment then took place to the Town Hall, where the Corporation records were exhibited.

The Mayor called upon the Town Clerk to read the following address, which was beautifully illuminated and bound :

*To the Right Hon. the President and the Members of the British  
Archæological Association.*

We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Dover, beg to tender to you our most cordial welcome on this, your Society's first visit, to our ancient Cinque Port. We observe from the published programme that you contemplate a somewhat extensive range of exploration, and we warmly hope that you will experience a satisfactory and enjoyable Congress. The historical associations with our town and port, you are doubtless aware, are many and varied. It is perhaps a unique circumstance that within the confines of the borough there exist vestiges of each succeeding historical age. That of the British age is witnessed by the earthwork on which the Romans upon their arrival erected the Pharos still standing, a structure not so prominent as formerly, by reason of a considerable portion of the external vallum having been a few years since filled up.

In addition to the Roman Pharos, history reports there having been a corresponding building on the Western Heights opposite. At twenty-three years since, the foundations of that Roman structure were discovered, and thus was confirmed the truth of the record of it. It was at this spot that the Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports were wont in olden time to take the sacrament of office, a ceremony which the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston also went through on August 28th, 1861.

Of the Saxon age there are memorials in the buildings within the Castle, in addition to the old church adjoining the Pharos, the enclosure wall of the Donjon or keep-yard (refaced a few years since), and the one gate yet remaining at its northern entrance; with portions of other buildings adjacent, etc.

The works of the Roman era at the Old Fortress are extensive, embracing not only the curtain walls, gateway, and towers, but the grand old keep with the chapel at its entrance. The ancient church of St. James, at the base of the Castle Hill, was a Norman structure, and it has been recently restored in the strict meaning of the word. To what age the ancient church of St. Mary belonged is to be pointed out to you by the vicar, Canon Puckle. The several mediæval buildings which remain you will have the opportunity of inspecting. As to the church of the Knights Templars, on the Western Heights, overlooking Archcliff Fort, we think it must now be accepted conclusively as a fact that it was in this building King John surrendered his crown and kingdom, and did homage to the Pope of Rome. While all knowledge of the existence of such a church had perished or been lost, historians took authors' licence of adopting various theories about it. But when, a few years since, its foundation was discovered, theory had to give place to fact. And this foundation still testifies to the accuracy of the olden historians, who recorded it thus, "*Apud Domum Militum Templi juxta Doveriam*". This church was one of the five only ever erected in England by that singular people—of the other four there are also existing memorials.

The science of Archæology is an ennobling study. A knowledge of the past instructs for the present. All human knowledge is comparative. To know the manners and customs of our forefathers, so as to be able to draw comparisons with our own, tends to chasten our views of the present, and to teach us what we owe to those who have walked the earth before us; they in their age laying foundations—however inferior they may appear to be to us—upon which their successors have wisely built. Hence, under God, our happy, social polity and prosperity.

We doubt not your Society will be gratified should the visit to this coast be the means of awakening a more extended and livelier interest in that path of knowledge you seek to tread; being always, as all wise and judicious students are, ready to give the right hand of fellowship to others willing to enter the ranks of this most interesting and valuable field of work; and we shall rejoice if, at the conclusion of your Congress, you bear away with you a pleasing reminiscence of the week spent in your researches in East Kent.

Given under our Corporate Seal in our Council Chamber, at  
Dover, this 16th day of August, A.D. 1883.

RICHARD DICKESON, Mayor.

WOLLASTON KNOCKER, Town Clerk.

Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., also presented the following address on behalf of the Kent Archæological Society:

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

In the name of the Kent Archæological Society I am commissioned to offer to you a very cordial welcome to our county. In common par-

lance Kent is called one of the Home Counties ; but it may, in a certain sense, be called THE Home County of the British Archæological Association. Your first Annual Congress was held in Kent in 1844.

Gladly did this county welcome your Association for the second time in 1853, when you met at Rochester. The greeting which our Society has the pleasure to give you to-day emphatically attests the rapid advancement of that enlightened interest in monuments and records of the past which your Association was founded to foster and promote. The Kent Archæological Society did not exist when you visited this county in 1844 and in 1853. Its formation in 1857 may be said to have resulted from the good effects of such Congresses as your Association inaugurated at Canterbury nearly forty years ago.

During the intervening period you have visited about eight and twenty counties. It is our belief, nevertheless, that in now returning to Kent once more, you will find in the district around Dover objects of historic interest inferior to none seen elsewhere. In truth, we venture to hope you may be convinced that in the field of archæology Kent well deserves the epithet, which she won of old on harder fields, "*Invicta*." Assuredly she will yield to none in the heartiness of the welcome which she now, for the third time, accords to the British Archæological Association.

Edward Knocker, Esq., F.S.A., then read a paper on the Borough Archives, which has been printed at pp. 1-14.

At the Evening Meeting, the Mayor of Dover being in the chair, Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, preceded his paper on the history of the Society, which will be printed hereafter, by a short address, one point of interest in which was a statement to the effect that on the 3rd September 1597, Shakespeare and a company of players visited Dover and gave a performance ; thence, it was supposed, he may have proceeded to Calais, where, it was hoped, a search amongst the municipal registers would be made upon the occasion of the visit of the Society next week. Referring to the history of the Association, Mr. Morgan said the Association was established in 1843, and since that time its chief objects had been kept steadily in view—namely, to correspond with local antiquaries, to register facts and to compare them, rather than to put forth theories, and to spread a taste for archæology ; also to endeavour by every means in their power to preserve ancient monuments from destruction. Referring to the kindred societies which had since been established, Mr. Morgan said none had been more successful than the Kent Archæological Society. For the great success which the British Archæological Society had achieved they owed very much to their Hon. Curator and Congress Secretary, Mr. G. R. Wright ; to the disinterested manner in which he had given his time to the services of the Association for so many years.

The Mayor remarked that he was not aware before that Shakespeare ever visited Dover with a company of players, and inquired as to



whether any further information could be given upon a subject so interesting to the inhabitants as well as to the meeting.

Mr. Wright said the circumstance alluded to by Mr. Morgan was culled from some of the old documents in the possession of the town of Dover many years ago, in the perusal of which Mr. E. Knocker, who was Town Clerk at the time, gave very great assistance. Shakespeare visited Dover during a tour through Kent with a company of players. The date has been given by Mr. Halliwell Phillippis, F.S.A., in his outline of the *Life of Shakespeare* (Longman and Co., 1881). Shakespeare's company made a tour through Sussex and Kent, and after visiting Rye in August, acted at Dover on the 3rd of September 1579.

The Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson, of Sittingbourne, read a paper on "St. Thomas of Dover", which will be printed at a future place.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., next read a paper on the "Samphire" which is found growing on the cliffs in the locality, and which has been immortalised by Shakespeare in connection with the cliff which takes his name. The paper, which was prepared by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A.Scot., but who was unable to be present, treated of the plant chiefly from a botanical point of view. It will find a place in the *Journal* hereafter.

The regalia, together with the ancient horn, seals, and silver oar of the borough, were produced, and Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., described the silver plate, none of which is of any great antiquity; the mace, inscribed with the legend CAROLUS HIC POSUIT VESTIGIA PRIMA SECUNDUS, 1660, sufficiently explains itself. The ancient horn, bearing, among other inscriptions, the magical letters A.G.L.A., was examined with interest, and as a relic of metal work of the thirteenth century deserves careful preservation in the museum, under charge of a custodian, rather than in the somewhat insecure place of its present deposit.

Mr. Walter De Gray Birch, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., said the seals of the borough of Dover had been placed in his hands that he might give his opinion upon them, the oldest of which is of the fourteenth century, and bears the device of St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar—a subject reproduced on nearly all the subsequent seals, as well as upon a die for striking badges, now carefully preserved among the collection of seals. The use of this badge is somewhat obscure, but the suggestion, that it was worn by the members of the celebrated fellowship of the pilots of the Cinque Ports, is worthy of consideration. (1) The first as regards antiquity, was the small seal of mayoralty; the seal of the Port of Dover before them was a seal of the municipality. This seal had been engraved (not very well) in *Boys' History of Sandwich*. The workmanship was of the fourteenth century, but it was not of the finest class. (2) The second seal was



that of the Barons of Dover, the common seal. It had two faces, and was joined with pins. It had been badly used, indeed wilfully ill-used. The date was 1405. Some had taken it to be 1305, but he thought it was 1405, and the letters were exactly of that period. On the obverse side was a ship, and a man going up the shrouds to unfurl the sails. The ship was interesting, as it showed the kind of vessel then in use. It was a ship that would go both ways, the rudder being not at the end, but thrust out at the side, like a sweep on the barges. On the reverse side St. Martin, and a view of Dover Castle, and a porteuillis. (3) The third, he believed, was not a seal, but the die of a badge, probably the die with which the badge was struck for pilots, or some other body of men under the control of the Corporation. (4) This is a silver seal, dated 1582. (5) A seal, dated 1746, not of any great note or beauty. (6) This is a seal of the seventeenth century. (7) A seal, dated 1792, appearing to have been much used. (8) An ancient seal of the reign of Elizabeth. The seals altogether were a very interesting collection, and appeared to be very carefully kept.<sup>1</sup>

Sir James Picton, F.S.A., moved a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had read the papers, and Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., seconded him, and it was carried unanimously. The meeting then terminated.

#### AUGUST 21ST.

Tuesday was devoted to the interesting district of Richborough and Sandwich, concluding with a visit to Walmer Castle. At Richborough there was a large party, including the Mayor of Dover and the Mayor of Canterbury. The day was glorious, and as the train ran through to Walmer, and thence to the rich alluvial soil surrounding Sandwich and Richborough, everywhere the harvesters were to be seen at work. By the kindness of the South Eastern Railway Company, the train was allowed to pull up alongside the ruins, and the party arrived at the entrance into the ruined area, where George Dowker, Esq., gave a description of the structure. Mr. Dowker provided a chart of the ruins and sketches of the various points drawn to scale. The most interesting feature within the area is the platform of rectangular outline with a superincumbent cross above it. The use to which this structure was applied has not yet been satisfactorily determined, and Mr. Dowker, in reviewing the various conjectures that have been thrown out from time to time, was careful to pin himself to none. There are difficulties in the way of accepting the theories which have been proposed. The platform consists of an apparently solid mass of flint wall-

<sup>1</sup> See "Some Antiquities in the Possession of the Corporation of Dover", by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxvii, p. 399, where there are engravings of the seals of the Corporation, the ancient horn, and hand-bell, etc.

ing level with the surface of the ground, but many feet in depth. About it excavations have been made beneath the surface of the ground ; and many of the visitors availed themselves of the opportunity kindly afforded them by Mr. Solly, on whose farm these noble remains stand, of examining, by aid of lighted candles provided for the occasion, the passages in the sandy soil first cut by Mr. Boys in the early part of this century.

The preponderance of opinion was that it was the foundation of a Roman pharos. Mr. Dowker's paper will be, it is hoped, printed hereafter.

After an inspection of the ruins, the party took train for Sandwich. This town teems with relics of mediæval archaeology ; its town walls, its ancient houses with overhanging stories and gables, its quaint, carved figures at some of the street corners, its Fisher Gate and barbican, its Jacobean town hall, and, above all, its four churches, well repaid the lengthy visit of nearly five hours. The church of St. Bartholomew, in the centre of a square court bounded by the tenements of the "brothers" and "sisters" of the hospital, is to be attributed to the best period of Early English architecture. It consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle, separated by an arcade—in fact, it takes the form of two chapels standing side by side, with the founder's tomb under the easternmost arch. It was described by R. J. Emerson, Esq., whose paper has been printed at pp. 56-60.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock pointed out that the building had taken its present form through its enlargement. The northern chapel was the original building, the southern one having been added about fifty years later.

The church of St. Clement was next visited, with its richly decorated tower of twelfth century arcade-work. It was described by the Rev. A. M. Chichester, the Vicar, who very tersely but eloquently described the architecture, and gave the history of the building. From the fact that the election of mayors and the hundred courts are held in this church, the belief is entertained that this is the principal church of the town. The prominent features of interest within are the lofty arches (semicircular, of Norman date) which support the central tower, their capitals elaborately carved with grotesque figures and interlaced foliage. The unusual height to which these arches rise give a cathedral aspect to the interior. Behind the pulpit, the tympanum of a doorway, leading by a flight of steps to the belfry, is carved with ribbon-work and arches which suggest that even in the twelfth century a feeling of Saxon art still lingered among those who were employed to fill in subordinate ornamental details. Three specimens of acoustic jars, in the chancel and choir, may be mentioned here as additions to those which have hitherto received attention at the hands

of Mr. G. M. Hills and others who have taken this particular branch of obscure antiquities under their charge. He had often been asked which was the oldest church in the town; but that was a question which it was very difficult to answer. The stalls in the choir had been assigned to a confraternity of St. George. The church is now collegiate. It had once been a cruciform church with transepts, as evidenced by gable-marks on all four sides of the tower. The tower had out-lasted the adjoining church towers, which both fell in 1661 and 1667, after a severe earthquake; and though once in a critical state, it is now firm and strong. £3,000 have been expended in its restoration, which had been very carefully carried out, so as not to injure in any way its ancient features. The proclamation for the election of Mayor, Mr. Chichester said, was formerly by the common horn blowing by the sergeant, who made the following quaint proclamation: "Every man of twelve years or more, go to St. Clement's Church. There our Commonalty hath need. Haste! Haste!"

The font claims a passing notice by reason of the ornamental and heraldic devices which it bears. It formed the subject of a special notice by T. Dorman, Esq., to whom the Meeting is indebted for other archæological information respecting the antiquities of Sandwich.

The Register dates from the year 1563, and contains some quaint entries which will repay examination. There is among the Communion plate of St. Clement's an early silver cup of circular form, with flat saucer-shaped bowl, and bearing the unknown hall-mark of a pomegranate and four three-leaved sprigs in cross. This cup has been engraved, in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the legend, *THIS IS THE COMUNION COUP*, in ornamental capital letters running round the bowl.

St. Peter's Church was the next halting-place. It is in course of repair, which it sadly needs, and we willingly endorse the appeal of the Rev. H. Gilder for assistance. It stands nearly in the centre of the town, conspicuous by its high tower with bulb-like top. It was probably built in the reign of King John, upon the site of an earlier structure, fragments of Norman work being still discernible in some parts of the building. It consists, according to the Rev. H. Gilder, who conducted the party over the building, of a well proportioned nave, a chancel nearly 50 feet in length, a central tower carrying a chime of eight bells, a very fine north aisle extending on to two bays of the chancel, north porch, and sacristy. The south aisle was completely destroyed by the fall of the tower, October 13th, 1661, and has never been rebuilt, the area now forming part of the churchyard. The interior is in a sadly dilapidated condition, rendered still more hideous by the slowly progressing work of restoration and repair. Tottering pews of wretched carpentry, uneven floors, decaying whitewash, loos-

ened fragments of mouldings and carved details, combined to give an air of forlorn desolation to the interior when the party made the visit. Notwithstanding this there are some good features in the edifice; and it is to be hoped that in the wholesale alterations evidently going forward, care will be taken to preserve these from any caprices of those who have the works in their hands. At the east end of the south aisle is a building believed by some to have been an *anchorage* or place of seclusion, with an under-croft or crypt, originally entered by a newel-staircase under a groined roof which abutted into the churchyard. On the north side of the chancel the tracery of a very beautiful window of the fourteenth century still remains intact, the lights having been fortunately filled in with brickwork, which has preserved the carved work from injury. There are some fine monuments in the church: in the north aisle one of elaborate design (*circa* 1320-40), of Thomas Elys and his family (Ellis or Ellice), who was a great benefactor to the church and town. There are two recumbent effigies (supposed of John Eue or Ive, a merchant, and Maud his wife) upon a table-tomb (*circa* 1390), originally under a canopy which is now entirely destroyed. Boys, in his *History of Sandwich*, says, speaking of these two and another in the same aisle, "They are fine specimens of the art of sculpture in the fourteenth century; and I query whether there are three tombs of equal elegance and antiquity to be met with in any parish church within the diocese." There is also an effigy of a knight in armour (about the date of 1340), noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1858.

The church of St. Mary was also visited, and described for the members by the Rev. A. M. Chichester, whose paper will appear hereafter.

During the day the ancient Fisher Gate and Barbican and Town Walls were visited.

At 1.30 an adjournment was made to the Bell Hotel, where luncheon was provided, Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., presiding, supported by the Mayors of Dover, Canterbury, and Sandwich, to which more than a hundred ladies and gentlemen sat down.

The next place visited was the quaint Town Hall, where the Mayor (W. J. Hughes, Esq.) had placed in the Council Chamber the Corporation plate, maces, MSS., and charters, which excited great interest. There are one large and two smaller maces, the latter being the more ancient; but the opinion was, that although of early origin, they had been altered, and were not so ancient as that of Tenterden. The larger mace is a crowned mace of the time of Charles II. The horn (similar in shape to the cavalry trumpet of the Romans) was very ancient. There are also three curious wands or staffs of office, that of the Mayor being black and knotted, unlike any other wand of office we have known. Another is like a drum-major's staff. The curious



silver baptismal bowl and a beautiful bowl of Samian ware (one of the most perfect known), found near Wingham, were much admired. The fine MS., *Custumale*, shown here, is worthy of careful binding, its present condition being very dilapidated. That which excited the most interest, however, was the series of paintings recently acquired by the Corporation from the Ashburnham family, relating to the early history of the town. These were described by Mr. Alderman Dorman.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor and to Alderman Dorman concluded the proceedings here.

Shortly afterwards the party proceeded to Walmer Castle, where, by the kindness of Earl Granville, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the distinguished President of the Association, the party had been invited. Unfortunately pressing Parliamentary business prevented the Earl from being present. The Countess Granville was, however there to receive her guests, who included Sir Walter James, Sir Walter Stirling, Major-General Newdigate, the Rev. Canon Rowsell, etc. The Castle, with those of Deal and Sandown, was erected by Henry VIII, and there is nothing very special in its architectural features to interest archæologists; but every Englishman must revere its ancient walls, from their memories of Pitt and Wellington, and from the long line of distinguished Lord Wardens and eminent statesmen who have sought rest there from the cares of state. The gardens and grounds are very beautiful. Refreshments were gracefully offered by the Countess of Granville to the party when they were on the terrace, and an opportunity was taken by many to pass through the room where the victor of Waterloo breathed his last, and where were the only relics of the great Duke preserved at Walmer.

The Evening Meeting was held in the Council Chamber, under the presidency of E. Knocker, Esq., F.S.A. The first paper was "The Ethnology and Nomenclature of Kent", by Sir James Picton, F.S.A. This will appear elsewhere in the *Journal*.

After an animated discussion, in which several of the members took part, the Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Destroyed Churches of Dover". Only two of the ancient churches remained, St. Mary and St. James, although, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, a great writer said there were six. During the references to the several churches, the reverend gentleman said he had found an entry which stated that "the revenue of the church of St. Martin was so small that no honest priest would stay in it". The church of St. Peter was continued until 1611, when it was amalgamated with that of St. Mary. The church probably stood on the north side of the market place. The paper will appear *in extenso* hereafter.

The Chairman suggested that the Rev. Scott-Robertson should search the premises of the Antwerp Hotel, which they had very good grounds for supposing was the site of St. Peter's Church.



The Rev. Scott-Robertson mentioned that he had discovered the pomegranate emblem of Catharine of Arragon, carved, and in stained glass windows in many churches of Kent, which showed how popular the marriage of an English prince to a Spanish princess must have been at that time. Recently he found a very interesting specimen of this in the Church of Lullingstone, not far from London. On a tomb there he found the pomegranate prominently displayed in several instances. He also found a large letter "A" linked with a pomegranate, which was repeated in other parts of the tomb. So that here they had, perhaps, the only allusion in England to the marriage of Catharine of Arragon to Prince Arthur.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1884.

STEPHEN I. TUCKER, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

M. CHARLES HETTIER, Caen, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library of the Association :

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," 1881-2.

*To M. Hettier*, the author, for "La Maison de Ville de Charles de Bourgueville, Sieur de Bras." Caen, 1879.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a variety of Roman and mediæval *ficilia*, chiefly from excavations in London, at London Wall and Cheapside. Among them were fragments of black Upchurch ware, and of the so called Siegburg ware.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a rectangular, chipped flint with facing, from the ruined church of Overstrand, near Cromer, co. Norfolk, in illustration of the squared flint walls inspected at Sandwich and other places during the recent Congress.

Mr. Brock, Mr. Blashill, Mr. Brent, and Mr. Birch, took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, etc., exhibited a second brass coin of Claudius, from excavations recently reported at Preston, on Lady Ogle's property, near Brighton ; thus strengthening the opinion expressed by him at the time, that the site opened was to be referred to a Roman origin.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot., read a paper on the "Sculptured Crosses at Ilkley, near Leeds," and exhibited a collection of drawings illustrating these ancient crosses.

In the discussion which took place, Mr. Brock, Mr. Morgan, the Rev. G. F. Browne, and others, took part.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

E. D. Jackman, Esq., 34 Hatton Garden, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland," vol. vi, 4th Series, July 1883, No. 55.

*To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A.*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part XXI, Jan. 1884.

*To the Publishers*, for "The Bone Caves of Ojcow in Poland," by Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Römer. Translated by J. E. Lee, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1884.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a Roman vase found at Southwark, on the site of Roman buildings. It is of light yellow ware, urn-shaped, with two handles. Mr. Way also laid on the table a fire-clay crucible found with a second brass coin of Vespasian in fairly good preservation.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited the photograph of a Phrygian bas-relief, and promised to bring the original sculpture, if possible, on a future occasion.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a large series of the third brass coins of Probus, about ninety in number; no two reverses alike; most of them in very good preservation.

Mr. F. Danby Palmer, of Yarmouth, made the following communication respecting the "Tolhouse":

"An interesting relic of the connection which formerly existed between this town and the Cinque Ports is in the possession of the Corporation of Romney. It consists of the ancient banner of the ports, which, together with the 'brazen horn of silence', that body still holds. It is made of green silk, blazoned with the arms of the five ports, and fringed with gold twist mingled with red and blue. Its size is 4 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 3 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, exclusive of the fringe. This is the identical banner which was borne by one of the Barons of the Cinque Ports on repairing to the Tolhouse to meet the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, when, as quaint old Manship wrote, 'the Bailiffs of Yarmouth, with their brethren in their scarlet robes attending on them, directly repair to the Tolhouse, the place thereto appointed, when they do immediately send for the Barons aforesaid (of the Cinque Ports), who coming thither, do for the most part, at their first interview, deliver some

short speech tending to this effect : to show who they be, from whence and wherefore they do come hither, and desiring to be received and respected accordingly.' ”

Yarmouth is indebted to Mr. H. B. Walker of New Romney for courteously lending Mr. F. Danby Palmer a picture of this ancient badge of authority, which has been since photographed by Messrs. Sawyer and Bird.

Among the more recent subscribers to the “Tolhouse Restoration Fund” we notice the names of the Bishop of Chester, the Dean of Norwich, Dr. Raven, E. W. Worlledge, Sir J. Paget, T. P. Burroughs, Rev. C. Steward, Sir E. H. K. Lacon, E. P. Youell, H. E. Lombe, W. E. Wyllys, and A. J. Palmer. At a recent meeting of the Committee it was determined to obtain an estimate with a view to opening out the original timber roof of the great hall, and we trust that every success will attend the efforts of the trustees in this direction.

Mr. H. Watling of Earl Stonham, Suffolk, sent a large collection of coloured facsimiles of stained glass from windows, and other ecclesiastical antiquities, in East Anglia, chiefly connected with the history of Blythborough and Earl Stonham ; and the emblematic history of St. Edmund, K. M.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A. ; Mr. T. Blashill, F.S.A. ; and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, took part in the discussion which ensued upon the exhibition of these beautifully executed facsimiles.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a paper on the “Anglo-Saxon Remains recently found at Taplow, Co. Bucks,” by Dr. Joseph Stevens, which was illustrated with several carefully drawn plates. The paper has been printed above, at pp. 61-71.

An animated discussion took place after the reading, in which Messrs. C. Brent, F.S.A., J. R. Allen, C. H. Compton, E. P. L. Brock, and J. F. Hodgetts, took part.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1884.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected :

James Jeffries, Esq., Congresbury, Somerset

Charles Sampson, Esq., Taunton

John Henry Wellby, Esq., 12 Russell Square, W.C.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for the “Archæological Journal,” vol. xl, No. 160, 1883.

„ „ for “Archæologia Cambrensis,” 4th Ser., No. 56, Oct. 1883.

To *W. E. Hughes, Esq.*, for "*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*," vol. i, No. I, 2nd Series, Jan. 1884.

The attention of the members was drawn by Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, to the loss recently sustained by the archæological world in the death of Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., formerly a member of this Association.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited an old engraving of the remains of Winchester Palace at Southwark, drawn by C. N. M'Intyre North, architect. He also exhibited the large number of one hundred and twelve silver coins of the Roman consular period, all of them being in a very fine state of preservation.

On behalf of Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited and described a portion of an illuminated historical roll of the fourteenth century, containing a digest of Jewish and Roman history.

Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited two bone draughtsmen of the fourteenth century, found in the ruins of Clonmacnoise Abbey Church, in Ireland.

Mr. T. Blashill, F.S.A., exhibited a small copper vessel resembling an Egyptian *situlus* or bucket, having a cylindrical body tapering at the bottom, and furnished with two small eyes, perhaps for a lid or hinged cover, found in the floor of Orlestone Church, Kent.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited a carved slab of fine alabaster, and made some remarks upon this remarkable bas-relief.

We are indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith of the British Museum for the following account of this relic :

"The bas-relief, of which an illustration is here given, exists at the Mount Ephraim Hotel, Tunbridge Wells; but there appears to be no evidence as to how it got there, or whence it originally came. It is a slab of white alabaster, resembling marble, which, from its shape, has probably been let into a wall, and represents a *naos*, or shrine, in which stands a representation of the god Men, to whom, as the inscription tells us, this is a dedication.

"The cult of this deity, originally, no doubt, hailing from an Eastern, probably a Persian source, appears to have been very generally in vogue in Asia Minor during the last two centuries B.C. and first three A.D., and found its way thence, in some instances at least, to certain parts of Greece. Corresponding with the Latin *Deus Lunus*, Men is represented sometimes on foot, with his attributes, as here, sometimes on horseback, on the imperial coinage of almost all the towns of Phrygia, Pisidia, and Lydia. He also appears on numerous bas-reliefs from Phrygia of the same period, similar to ours, when the usual type is that of a youthful male figure wearing a *chiton*, *chlamys*, *endromides*, and a Phrygian cap.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the type of Jupiter Dolichenos on a relief in the British Museum. See *Bullettino dell' Inst.*, 1853, p. 55; and for a general discussion of the cult, Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, ii, Pt. 3, p. 962.





PHRYGIAN BAS-RELIEF.

One-third actual size.



He has a crescent on his shoulders, and holds in one hand a *thyrsos*, and in the other a pine-cone. He places his left foot on the head of a crouching bull.

"The special point of interest attaching to this example lies in the inscription below the bas-relief, which is as follows :

ΑΓΑΘΟΠΙΟ  
ΥΚΚΑΟΥΑΛΗ ΜΗΝΙ  
ΝΩΕΥΧΗΝ

Ἀγαθόπους Κασσαληνῶ ἐν χῆν Μηνί.

"Of the general intention of this and similar dedications we have a clue in an inscription from Koloe, published in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, iv, 129, where a woman, Meltinè, dedicates to Artemis Anaeitis and Men Tiamou a relief in gratitude for the healing of her feet. In the present case we have a new surname of Men to add to the list of eight similar surnames which Waddington has collected.<sup>1</sup> These are all from the parts of Asia Minor already specified; and though several instances have since been published of similar dedications in Hellas proper, in all cases the dedicators were foreigners, probably from Asia Minor. Thus in an inscription from Athens,<sup>2</sup> Dionysios and Babulia dedicate a temple to Men;<sup>3</sup> in a similar inscription from Delos, in the sanctuary of the strange gods, one Taosa makes a dedication to Men.

"It is then extremely probable, from internal evidence, that this inscription comes from Phrygia or the adjacent provinces. What is the meaning of the surname attached? The form of the termination *ηνός* would seem to suggest an appellative formed from the name of a place, as we have in other Asia Minor forms, Pergamenos, Kadasenos. It is, therefore, possible that we have a reference to the local cult of this deity at Kabalia or Kabalis, a city and tract lying on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia;<sup>4</sup> and it seems probable that for the original provenance of our slab, we must refer it to that neighbourhood."

Mr. Birch made some observations upon the exhibition.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited on the part of Mr. Greenshields of Lanarkshire, our Associate, pieces of a gold and enamelled chain, asserted to have belonged to Cardinal Wolsey.

The Chairman exhibited a collection of antiquities, mostly archaic and Roman, found in London. Of the former, a spear-head of ox-bone of very high antiquity, in its matrix of clay, from London Wall; also a fine martel of red deer antler, remarking that although in Scandinavia more plentiful, yet in London its occurrence has been very rare. The instrument is formed of the base of the antler, and carries evident marks of use. A third object, also of deer's antler, squared

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. de l'Asie Min.*, Part V, No. 668.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *C. I. A.*, iii, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηναίων, viii, 294.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, 13, 629.

on the longer limb (6 inches), hollowed for the reception perhaps of a sword-blade or a flint weapon ; hardly the latter, however, as a pin-hole for securing the object in the socket has been drilled through. May it have been the receptacle of a tribal staff of honour ? The bone is embrowned by peat-water. .

Many of the Roman antiquities were of much interest ; as 1, a noble *cantharus* of hard-burned material, thin and red, with a nobly moulded neck ; 15 inches total height, with diameter of 11 inches ; capacity of more than two gallons (English). It is marked V ; either a proprietary initial, or indicating its contents. Also 2, a ringed, conical amphora (14 inches) for import of olives or honey. Both found in Eastcheap : 3. Three *salina*, or salt-holders, of terra-cotta, found in Southwark, each in form of an altar, and no doubt for table-use, expressing in their forms the sacredness of salt.<sup>1</sup> Their measurements are, respectively, 4 inches. This is round, moulded borders, and rests on rounded feet No. 2 is hexagon, with deep mouldings, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height : the third,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, round, with plain borders. These we believe to be the first *salina* exhibited. The revival of classic taste in the seventeenth century recalled, in silvered pewter or silver, these pure forms. A revival was exhibited.<sup>2</sup>

A large funeral urn, one of two, of Upchurch ware ; and another, probably made, as also found, in London, were placed on the table. The latter, when found, contained bones (these, however, were lost) covered by a Samian dish with upright sides, of rare but home-make, and probably dating from the second century. Upon the cover stood a lamp-holder and Samian lamp, and within, the *obolus*, a first brass, but too decayed to be intelligible. This interment had probably been made in a cyst of wood. This disappeared, leaving near the bank of the Fleet river this suggestive group there placed 1600 years ago. Added to the London group were a very fine fibula and pin, of bronze, assigned to the first century ; a bronze stud ; and a length of bronze chain, designed as a necklet or bracelet, each link most artistically worked in interior spirals. A spiralled *auriscalpium*, tweezers, a Romano-Egyptian bead, and another of blue and red, with darker ribbings, from Southwark, completed the home Roman exhibition.

Mr. Mayhew added, however, some Roman glass lately brought from Palestine, and a magnificent *cantharus*, of glass, from Cyprus. This beautiful object was found in many pieces, and has been deftly restored ;

<sup>1</sup> Salt was held in great veneration, and always used with sacrifices ; was also symbolic of friendship. A family salt-holder (*paternum salinum*) was kept with great care. To spill salt was esteemed ominous. (Hor., *Od.* ii, 16, 14.)

<sup>2</sup> This revival of classic form extended to the Delft manufacture of the seventeenth century, the writer being in possession of a large salt-holder formed on classic lines of that date.

it is globular, about 12 inches high, iridescent, and closely resembles the Eastcheap *cantharus* now exhibited; and some spiralled and ribbed vessels of black ware, also from Cyprus, elegant in design. One could not escape observing these same spirals in the sixteenth century adorned Venetian glass-work, and in the eighteenth were adapted in silversmiths' work. Mr. W. de Gray Birch observed that these forms might have been brought to Cyprus by early settlers from the mainland, possibly from Egypt. Note of a heavy *telum* of iron, for projection from a *balista*, and found outside the Roman works of Leaden-hall, has been omitted. The weapon has been used, and subjected to fire.

Mr. A. B. Wyon, Her Majesty's Chief Engraver of Seals, read a paper on the seals of Henry VI, and illustrated his remarks with the exhibition of a collection of casts. This paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Birch made some remarks upon the seals.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings of the evening.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1884.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:

*To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, for reprint of "Views of the Castles of Northumberland and Durham, drawn and engraved by S. and N. Buck," originally published in 1728; large folio: "Remnants of Old Newcastle-on-Tyne," Part I, by C. C. Hodges, Esq.: and "Archæologia Æliana," Part 26, vol. ix, New Series, 1883.

*To W. E. Hughes, Esq.*, for "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," vol. i, No. 2.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited several Græco-Russian *icons* bearing effigies of patron saints, apostles, and other Biblical personages.

The Chairman described several of these relics, and drew attention to one bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary and child Jesus, as being of considerable antiquity.

Mr. A. B. Wyon exhibited the casts of a counter-seal of Philip Duke of Burgundy, in reference to his recent paper on the seals of Henry VI.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, exhibited, on behalf of Mr G. Lambert, F.S.A., a pewter and a bronze spoon of the seventeenth century. Mr. Wright also exhibited a cruciform stone



found near Fort Beaufort, 339 miles from Cape Town, South Africa. It was, however, generally considered to be a fossil.

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited an old bronze chafing-dish from Belgium, and a complete set of "Maundy money" from the time of Charles II to the present issue.

Mr. J. R. Allen exhibited,—1. Photograph of coped stone, 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 4 inches, with flat, rectangular space in centre, having a cross at each end, and four sloping sides; the whole covered with elaborate, interlaced patterns. Found at Bexhill Church, Sussex, by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, and now built into the walls of the tower. Photograph kindly lent by the Rev. J. H. Simpson of St. Mark's, Bexhill.

2. Stone coffin-lid, 5 feet 3 inches long by 1 foot 9 inches broad, tapering to 1 foot 3 inches, and 4 inches thick at the sides, and 5 inches in the middle, bearing two crosses and panels of plaitwork on each side. Exhibited by kind permission of the Rev. A. B. Hemsworth of Rocklands (All Saints), Norfolk, where the stone was found.

3. Two cross-heads with interlaced patterns, now in the Architectural Museum, Tufton Street, Westminster. Locality unknown.

4. Quern with rude interlaced work, found in London, and now in the Guildhall Museum.

Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited antiquities from London excavations : 1. A Norman chessman formed from the tibia of the ox, darkened by peat-water, representing a tower, with head of a knight, who wears a salade. This most rare and interesting London relic is of undoubted Norman work, and possibly imported rather than home-made, as the game originally seems to have reached us from Frankish shores, though known in England a century anterior to the Norman invasion. The piece exhibited is really a castle, first denominated "roc", then "rook" or fortress, or rather keeper of the fortress. Accordingly we here behold the keeper on his watch. In the fourteenth century the piece appears with the watcher's head more prominent, and wearing a peaked helmet, while the cylindrical castle is somewhat incurved. Some of the Cottonian MSS. contain early chess illustrations and chess lore. We quote the names of the pieces as then written : "Rey", "Reyne or Ferce", "Roc", "Alfin or Fol", "Archer or Bishop", the "Knight", the "Pawn". Ancient pieces, whether chess or draughtsmen, are of extreme rarity.

2. In the collection of our late Associate, Mr. Baily, were some enigmatical objects dug from the clay in Philpot Lane, resembling fossil wood. Another, from similar and light-coloured clay, dug up with fragments of tile or pottery, is now on the table. In length about 18 inches; circumference, 3 inches; somewhat arched, with a protuberance resembling a stop cock. The hardened clay contains frag-

ments of birchwood-bark, burnt wood, and one fragment of tile, with two or three water-worn pebbles. Inspection by glass, however, reveals this as no fossil, but a band of hard-burned clay. Our Vice-President, H. S. Cuming, Esq., is inclined to a supposition, influenced by shape, that it is part of a pottery refuse, and had been used for luting the seggars of the furnace. British or Roman,—which? The birch-bark and stones incline to the former.

Roman antiquities from the neighbourhood of Queen Victoria Street:—

3. *Auriscalpium* of bone, representing the monoceros. The carving is very delicate and beautiful. Part of the horn is broken; but otherwise this fine toilette appendage is perfect.

4. A bronze pin apparently, from its quality, of the first century. It bears for terminal the Bacchic *thyrsus*. Also sundry needles of bronze, *styli* of iron, one being bent to a right angle.

Of mediæval antiquities from the same neighbourhood:—

5. A very fine sixteenth century ladle, of bronze, with circular bowl, without mark.

6. Also the iron bar of a bag for holding the sacred relics. The bar is 9 inches in length, of iron, with bronze belts etched with palm-branches; a central bronze boss, engraved on one side with the *tau* of St. Anthony, on the other with the rose of the Blessed Mother, sustains the suspensory loop. Close by, a small bronze chain was found also. Stowe tells us St. Anthony's Church, before the fire, stood in Budge Row; after the fire the church reappeared as St. Antholin, with the beautiful spire, remorselessly destroyed a few years since. This reliquary bar was found very near the site of the former church, and probably belonged to it.

7. From the site of Baynard's Castle, knives of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, two keys of sixteenth century, and an iron picklock. Also the blades of two very fine and excellently preserved misericords, 12 inches, exclusive of haft. Two were daggers similar to those used at Agincourt by our warriors for the dispatch of French knights unhorsed by wounds or otherwise. Also the chain of a censer. This is interesting as supplementing other ecclesiastical relics from the same locality, found in former years; notably a square candlestick of stone, with the name "Tomas", and a famous reliquary depicting the murder of the Saint.

8. A fine knife-dagger, in excellent preservation, found in digging a garden in New Church Road, Camberwell, in April last. The blade has been inlaid with gold, which is partly retained. The haft is of horn, cut in a deep spiral filled with silver, and edged by a thread-pattern. The butt is of scalloped silver; and the general work of the weapon points to an Eastern origin. How came it to the locality of

its finding? Till the commencement of this century no highway had been cut to Camberwell, no road is shown in road-books, open country lay south of London. This may have been a hunting-knife.

9. A large, heavy, fine, well preserved Saxon knife, capable of inflicting a very terrible wound. The knife is handled with whale's bone, the butt being of iron. An excellent specimen, and dug up in the City in 1884.

10. A rare specimen of an instrument for raising a tooth, and so extracting it, as used by a mediæval dentist, A.D. 1530. This ancient instrument presents a strong iron lever slightly bent, and terminating in two small but strong points, set in a bone handle about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. In itself extremely uncommon, a larger interest gathers about it, inasmuch as it is figured in a volume on medical science written by Octavius Horatianus, *Rerum Medicarum*, etc., A.D. 1530.

The Chairman read a paper upon a magical roll in the British Museum, and exhibited several drawings and wood-engravings in illustration of the subject. This paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Morgan, Mr. Birch, Mr. Cope, and the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. W. H. Butcher read a paper on Devizes Castle, which will appear hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 5, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Howard C. Morris, 2 Walbrook, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

To *S. W. Kershaw, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., the Author*, for a pamphlet entitled "Ancient Bridge Chapels." 4to.

To the *Society*, for the "Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte." 4 Parts. 1883.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced that, by a resolution of Council, a Sub-Committee had been appointed to consider the advisability of taking up an invitation held out by the South Kensington Exhibition authorities to exhibit archaeological objects in connection with the contemplated Sanitary Exhibition.

Mr. Brock exhibited two small gold earrings and a very ancient frontal of thin gold plate, embossed with an elegant floral design. This fillet is of manifestly mortuary origin, and comes from a female skull found in the Troad.

Mr. Brock also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.,

sketches of an umbo of a Saxon shield and a javelin-head, recently dug up on the Downs near Dartford, the precise locality denoted in a map made by Mr. Youens. The umbo is of the type of No. 18 in Plate XV of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. The objects were found in digging for a drain, about 4 feet below the surface.

Mr. Roofe exhibited a neolithic hammer-head found at Teddington, of polished stone.

The Chairman exhibited an egg-shaped ball of Egyptian zoned arragonite, or alabaster, from a Mosque in Cairo; piece of the rock-foundation of the great Colossus of Rhodes; piece of the marble Temple of Diana at Ephesus; and made some remarks upon the *mythus* of Diana, who is represented sometimes as male, and at other times as female.

Mr. Mackintyre North exhibited plates of his work entitled *Leabhar Comun Nam Fìor Ghael*, on Celtic Arts in Britain, and made some remarks on the Celtic laws as illustrated by the remains. He also laid on the table several coins found on the site of old Winchester Palace and other places.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read Mr. H. S. Cuming's paper "Finger-Nail Lore", which will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.*

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the Society, for *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xv, 1883.

Progress was announced with respect to the exhibition of ancient and mediæval objects connected with food and health, by this Association, at the forthcoming Sanitary Exhibition to be held in the South Kensington Museum during the ensuing summer.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, described the general arrangements relating to the forthcoming Congress, which had been unanimously agreed to be held at Tenby, in South Wales, during the summer.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a gem, and read a

#### NOTE ON AN ENGRAVED GEM FOUND AT CUDDY'S COVE.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

I had the honour, on June 7th, 1882, to lay before the British Archæological Association a few notes on the ancient hermitage of Cuddy's Cove in Northumberland.<sup>1</sup> In that paper I endeavoured to show that

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journal*, xxxviii p. 335.

the natural cave at Howburn, on the southern slope of a long ridge of hills overlooking the valley of the Till, was the place which St. Cuthbert chose for his hermitage A.D. 676. Canon Raine<sup>1</sup> supposed that this was the spot Bede<sup>2</sup> alluded to; but Monsignor C. Eyre,<sup>3</sup> in his learned history, believed that the hermitage was situated on a little islet about one hundred yards from Lindisfarne. In my previous paper I ventured to give my reasons for agreeing with Canon Raine's supposition, and I find that the Rev. Dr. Maclear holds the same view when he says: "First he retired to the mainland, and secluded himself in a recess near the village of Howburn, still known as 'Cuthbert's Cave.'"<sup>4</sup>

Being in the neighbourhood of Belford in the autumn of last year, I walked over to Cuddy's Cove in order to make a sketch of the hermitage. A fern of some botanical interest was growing in a cleft on the right hand side of the Cave. I was desirous to take it up by the roots, and having succeeded in this object, I discovered that the cleft behind where the fern had been growing was deeper than I expected. A patch of mould at the far end possessed a different hue from the surrounding earth, and when it was taken out I discovered that it contained some object that glittered in the sunlight. That object is the intaglio I have now the honour of exhibiting to the Association.

I ventured to send the engraved gem to Mr. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., our Vice-President, whose knowledge of the history and value of intaglios is so well known. Mr. Mayer most kindly told me that it is a mediæval gem, with most probably a head of one of the Thirty Tyrants. It is, however, so rudely cut that he could not assign any positive name to it. "The stone", Mr. Mayer added, "is a nice one, a sard; but more valuable for the locality in which it was found than as a work of art."

The mould which surrounded it was analysed, and the result led me to believe that the gem was once enclosed in a wooden box. A trace of copper was found; but the percentage of iron was so large that it would appear the box either had iron fastening upon it, or that it contained some object made of this metal, which has long ago rusted away.

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Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a blue and grey Delft jug of the seventeenth century, found in London, with the letters G. R. (*Gulielmus Rex*) in a front panel.

Mr. Brock also read the following communication from Rev. C. Collier, M.A., of Andover:—"The London and South-Western Railway

<sup>1</sup> Raine's *St. Cuthbert*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *History of St. Cuthbert*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Conversion of the West,—the English*, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Vit. S. Cuthb.*, xxii.



Company are making a loop-line between Whitechurch and Fullerton in this neighbourhood, and during the necessary excavations the labourers have found many skeletons. They lie at the bottom of graves, after the manner of the sketch sent. On Wednesday, Feb. 20, one was found in the excavations near Longparish. The remains were lying on the top of the hard chalk stratum. By the side of the remains were found some bones of a large dog. These have been preserved. When found, the human bones were perfect; but they have since gone to pieces. Several other skeletons have been found within a short distance of the spot where this was found. They are all in a similar state of preservation, and were in all probability buried at the same period. It would be interesting to know at what period these interments took place. They are not Roman, nor are they after the manner of the Saxons. No weapons are found with them, and the bodies seem to have been hastily thrown into these shallow pits. There is no barrow over them. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 1001, the writer says there was fighting at Whitechurch, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of these finds; and it is just possible that these skeletons may have been those of men buried hastily after the battle or battles."

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a carved wooden figure about 8 inches high, and apparently of the date of the sixteenth century, found on 11 March, whilst digging the foundations of the new Artisan Dwellings at Petticoat Square, Petticoat Lane, Houndsditch, at a depth of 25 feet, in an old cesspool. Some old pottery of the period of Charles I was found on the same site.

Mr. Geo. Patrick brought for exhibition some relics of Roman London, lent by a friend, which were lately discovered about 16 feet beneath the present surface, in excavating for foundations for new premises in the north-west corner of Paternoster Square. They consisted of a portion of a red tessellated pavement of plain character, together with tiles of various sizes; also roofing tiles embedded in mortar, which had been used to form a pavement on a hypocaust; and when first discovered, some four or five of the hypocaust-piers, built of tiles, and covered with a portion of this pavement, were found *in situ*. There were also vertical flue-tiles. Many of the flat tiles were scored all over, some with patterns of good design, and appeared as if they were intended to be visible, while these markings on others were made to give a greater hold to the plaster or cement with which they were covered.

Mr. Broek spoke of the interesting features of these remains.

Mr. W. H. Cope exhibited three German jugs bearing date 1590, 1592, 1593, of vivid, opaque enamels, one with silver-mounted cover; and read the following notes:

"The great success of the Venetians excited the emulation of their

neighbours. The German glass-makers produced, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, some vases which were decorated with enamel colours. The paintings have no great merit; but they bear a stamp of originality, which causes them to be much prized by amateurs. The designs of most frequent occurrence are the Emperor and the Electors of the empire; the imperial eagle bearing heraldic achievements upon his wings, and various escutcheoned shields. We rarely find on them any other composition. They generally bear inscriptions and the date of their manufacture. The oldest is that of 1553, upon a vase with the arms of the Elector Palatine of Berlin. This manufacture appears to have been given up in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

"The German artists in glass produced, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, some vases enriched with paintings in vitreous colours, possessing a much higher value considered as works of art. There are vases, usually of a cylindrical form, not exceeding the dimensions of a goblet. The subjects, which cover over almost the whole circumference of the cylinder, are drawn with great talent and nicety. The paintings, perfect in execution, may be compared to the most delicate paintings on glass of the second half of the sixteenth century. They are most frequently executed in grisaille or in brown camaieu; yet we meet with some that are polychromatic. Johann Schaper of Nuremberg (1661-1665) and H. Benchert (1677) were well known manufacturers of this style, which died out in a short time, at the end of the seventeenth century, and gave place to engraved glass.

"The decorations on the jugs exhibited are executed in vivid, opaque enamels not intended to be viewed by transmitted light, but which are generally very effective in appearance."

The Chairman (Mr. Morgan) read a paper entitled "Julius Cæsar's Landing-Place in Britain." It will appear hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A.; Mr. W. H. Cope; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A.; Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A.; and the Rev. A. Taylor, M.A., took part.

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Roman Antiquities at Lincoln.*—In digging the foundations for a new church in the lower portion of the town of Lincoln, a Roman altar has been found bearing the following inscription :

PARCIS DEA  
BVS ET NV  
MINIBVS AVG  
C ANTISTIVS  
FRONTINVS  
CVRATOR TER  
AR D . S . D.

The altar is 3 feet in height, and 1 foot 8 inches in width at the base, and 1 foot 3½ inches at the upper part. It is formed of a single block of oolite, the same stone as the well known (Newport) Roman arch in that city is built of; and it was found 13 feet under ground, lying on its face, in a bed of gravel, so that the inscription remains as clear as when first cut. The focus of the altar is, however, damaged; but the side-ornaments (a *præfericulum* and *patera*), carved in relief on opposite sides, are quite perfect.

The inscription is a valuable addition to the few dedicated to the *Parcæ*, already found in Britain; and not many have been found on the Continent. Of the three recorded in the *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.*, vol. vii, two found at or near Carlisle are dedicated to the *Matribus Parcīs*; and these seem rather to connect the *Parcæ Deæ* with the *Deæ Matres*. Many inscriptions to the latter have been found in Britain, and these are generally, like the *Parcæ*, three in number; but they appear as five on an altar preserved at Turin.

The *Deæ Matres* were worshipped by the Teutonic races as well as the *Matronæ*; but it is not clear that their attributes were the same as the *Parcæ* or the *Moiræ* worshipped by the Greeks and Romans, and who presided over destiny.

The altar was erected by CAIUS ANTISTIVS FRONTINVS, who has the title of CVRATOR; and this is followed by the letters TER, and on the next line AR. The first letters are read by Canon Venables, in his letter to *The Lincoln Gazette*, 15 March 1884, as a contraction for *tertium*; but this leaves it uncertain of what he was the *Curator*. It may, perhaps, be better to take the letters TER AR together, and suppose that the word stands for TERRARVM, and that Frontinus was *Curator* of the *Terræ*, or public lands belonging to the colony of Lindum. We know that Lindum was a colony, and every colony had lands assigned to it,

from which a revenue was drawn, and a curator needed to overlook the lands and manage the revenue. The remaining letters show that the altar was erected to the *Parce Deæ*, at his own cost, by Frontinus.

*Roman Villa near Yatton, Co. Somerset.*—Another recent discovery of Roman remains has been made in Somerset, not far from the Yatton Station on the Great Western Railway, and on the banks of the small river Yeo, which joins the Severn at Kingston-Seymour. In draining a field contiguous to the river a Roman villa has been found, with a tessellated floor, only part of which has as yet been uncovered; and a hypocaust adjoining, which has unfortunately been destroyed; but some of the supports of the suspended floor remain. The walls are now being traced, and the remains collected, which consist of some portions of iron slag, bones, and portions of stag's horn, bricks and tiles, and the usual *indicia* of Roman occupation. The floors are from 1 foot to 1½ under the surface, and covered by a stiff clay soil. They would be under the level of the river-bed if it were not for the artificial banks which are constructed on each side, and which prevent the circumjacent lands being overflowed. These banks must have, therefore, been constructed in Roman times, or the villa would have been under water. The course of the river does not appear to have been altered. The Yeo, therefore, seems to owe its first restrictions to Roman industry; and probably all the embankments in Somerset, contiguous to the Severn, owe their origin, like the great works in Lincolnshire, to the Romans; and some years since a stone coffin was found not far distant from this villa, containing a skeleton. The land all around, between Yatton, Kingston-Seymour, and Clevedon, is a flat, and would be under water were it not for the "rhines", or deep ditches, and the embankment of the river.

The floors of the villa show abundance of the white lias. Some courts appear to have been flagged with slabs of this stone.

*The Mechanical Arts of the Ancient Egyptians.* (London: Field and Tuer, y<sup>e</sup> Leadenhalle Presse. 1884.)—This is the title of a lecture delivered before the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts by Mr. W. Flinders Petrie, now published by the author at the very moderate price of one shilling. The subjects discussed are important, and many valuable additions to our knowledge of Egyptian antiquities are rendered, the results of two visits made to Egypt by the author; the most important being the discovery of the use of diamond-drills for the working of diorite and other hard substances in the early ages referred to.

*The Chronicle of Croyland Abbey, by Ingulph.* Edited from the unique MS. (Arundel, 178) in the British Museum, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH,

F.S.A. (Wisbech : Leach and Son, 26 High Street. 1884.)—This edition (only one hundred copies printed) of the text of Ingulph's *Chronicle of Croyland* or *Crowland Abbey* has been undertaken with the view of supplying the want frequently felt by historians and students of English political and monastic history, who are now unable to procure the rare and costly editions of former centuries. It is a faithful reproduction of the unique MS. in the Arundel Collection in the British Museum, No. 178, which contains fifty-four closely written paper pages of folio size, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century. The punctuation of the language and the mistakes of the writer have been scrupulously adhered to, not only because the sense of the text is sufficiently obvious to one accustomed to reading mediæval Latin, but because there are the two independent editions (mentioned below) to which reference can be made if desired.

The first editor of Ingulph's *Chronicle* was Savile, who gave it to the world in his folio, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, printed at London in 1596, reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. This collection of early English historical sources is now very scarce, and copies have of late years commanded a high price. The text of Savile was, we are told, obtained from a MS. now no longer known to exist. The next editor of Ingulph was Fulman, who printed his collection, known as the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, at Oxford, in 1684. This text was derived from a better MS. (with continuation of the history to a later period) at that time in the possession of Sir John Marsham. This MS., like that which contributed its text to Savile's editions, has, to the great regret of every one, also disappeared.

*Older England, illustrated by the Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the British Museum, in a Course of Six Lectures.* By J. F. HODGETTS. (Whiting and Co.) Mr. Hodgetts, whose studies of and researches into Teutonic and Slavonic philology are well known, has put into this interesting little volume the gist of his course of lectures lately delivered at the British Museum by kind permission of the Principal Librarian. The author's investigations tend in some cases to overthrow many hitherto received notions respecting the civilisation, military arts, fine arts, and manners and customs of our forefathers; and the theories which he lays down will, no doubt, be carefully examined by critics who are ever on the alert for new and advanced doctrines. The work must be read by all who would be acquainted with the newest lines of thought evolved about the antiquities which our land has recently yielded up so liberally to scientific excavation. The advantage which Mr. Hodgetts was, with supreme good fortune, enabled to avail himself of, that, namely, of lecturing upon the, so to speak, typical and historical specimens of Anglo-Saxon antiquities preserved in the British Museum, was indeed very great. From this point of view his



lectures have been surpassed by none hitherto; but we trust that this precedent will not fall for lack of following. It is by this means, among others, that the public will be able to get some idea of the value and importance of the vast collections stored up at the Museum; and all antiquaries ought to be grateful to those workers who, like the author of this work, have gone to the best possible source for the *pièces justificatives* of their deductions. We feel sure that the second course of Lectures on kindred subjects, shortly to be held, will meet with as hearty a reception as the first.

*Buckfast Abbey.*—Up to December last all that remained visible of this once important Cistercian Abbey consisted of what is locally known as “the Abbot’s Tower”, a four-storied building of Perpendicular character, built, it appears, at the south end of the “*Domus Conversorum*.” In 1806, before which the ruins were extensive, a modern house was built upon part of the site, from the materials of the old buildings, which were at the same time carefully levelled and covered over, and all record of their existence appears to have been since lost in the locality. One clue, however, was available, being a description of the ruins written in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1796 by a Mr. Laskey, and quoted by Mr. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., in a work of his upon the Cistercian houses of Devon. Mainly guided by this description, the foundations of the church were partially discovered from December 18th to 22nd of last year, when, owing to want of funds, the work was discontinued. In January, with a little more means, it was again carried on for a week, and resulted in the finding of the greater portion of the church foundations and part of the north cloister. In February, with the aid of a grant of £20 from the Society of Antiquaries, great progress was made, and the greater part of the Abbey buildings have now been more or less uncovered. These include the church (a cruciform building, 217 feet long by 63 feet wide, and 94 feet across the transepts), the sacristy, chapter-house, slype, frater, refectory, kitchen, etc., and the “*Domus Conversorum*”, all surrounding the cloister after the usual Cistercian plan. The cloister-garth is 66 feet in the clear, and square. The work is now again discontinued until further funds are available. These are much needed in order that the large accumulation of earth arising from the excavations can be removed, to enable the walls already found to be completely uncovered, and those of what are believed to be the abbot’s house and the infirmary to be opened out. It would also be very desirable to be able to remove the soil from the area of the buildings.

Amongst other objects of interest found during the excavations are many broken but highly ornamental, embossed, and glazed tiles of very early character; each tile being, when whole, 9 inches square. Possibly, if the church floor is cleared, others may be found *in situ*.

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### DOVER RECORDS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY R. SIMS, ESQ.

(*Read August 23, 1883.*)

THE MSS. relating to the ancient town of Dover, its port and Castle, deposited at the British Museum, are interesting in the highest degree to the county historian, and especially so to local antiquaries, since it is believed that many of them formed, at one time, a part of the archives of the Corporation. They are, in all, about one hundred and fifty in number, one half of which consists of separate papers of from two to a dozen pages each, whilst the remainder are in the form of volumes extending, in some cases, from 50 to 500 pages of closely written matter.

The larger and more important of these records were acquired for the nation at various times between the years 1869 and 1875, from Messrs. Read and Barrett, the well known booksellers at Ipswich, and are now numbered amongst the MSS. forming the Egerton and Additional collections. Previous to the year 1869 the Manuscript Department was by no means rich in materials for the compilation of a history of the town and its surroundings. In the collection named after Sir Hans Sloane, the founder of the Museum, but one MS. exists, viz., "A Discourse of Sea-Ports, chiefly that of Dover, by Sir Walter Raleigh." This treatise was printed in the year 1700. Amongst the Cottonian MSS. are some relating to Dover, of which the principal are:—Extracts from Hoveden's *Annals*, and observations respecting the Castle, *temp.* Edward I ;

letters of Henry III relating to the wardship of the Castle; memoranda relating to St. Martin's Priory; and numerous valuable plans and drawings of the town, Castle, and harbour, made in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth; copies of some of which are exhibited upon the walls of the Council Chamber. The Harleian collection contains eight MSS. having relation chiefly to the Castle in the reigns of Edward II and Henry VIII; a customal of the port, made in the fourth year of Edward VI; and some brief memoranda on St. Radigund's Priory. The library purchased by the Trustees in the year 1807, from the executors of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, contains some eighteen or twenty valuable papers relating to surveys of the harbour, pier, and fortifications, between the years 1559 and 1591, with reports on their decaying condition, and proposals for their repair, by Thomas Fludd, surveyor, of Kent, in 1578; also to surveys of the Maison Dieu, then a storehouse, in 1590 and 1591. There is likewise a curious petition for the repair of the "grene and black bulwark" in 1559. These MSS. belonged at one time to Sir Julius Cæsar, Judge of the Admiralty in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Between the years 1796 and 1868 twenty-three volumes only were added to the preceding collections. These were chiefly acquired by purchase. The more important are: "A Discourse of the Harbour, from the Time of Julius Cæsar to 1604, by John Fooke, a Jurat of Dover"; papers relating to the taxations for repairing the harbour, 1625, formerly belonging to Sir Julius Cæsar; a collection of the antiquities of the Castle and town of Dover, with an exposition of and upon the charter of the port and their liberties, compiled for King James I, taken from an old book belonging to Mr. Marsh, clerk of Dover Castle, 1658; plans of the Castle, town, and harbour, in 1581, made by Thomas Digger, head engineer; accounts of Thomas Marchaunt, Receiver of the Constabulary of Dover in 1405; a fragment of the Register of St. Martin's Priory, fifteenth century; charters of liberties granted by Henry III and Edward I.

Thus far the earlier collections. We now come to the most important acquisitions in relation to the history of this venerable town, viz., the MSS. obtained by purchase

from Messrs. Read and Barrett, as above stated. These are forty-six in number, and are divided between the Egerton and Additional collections, having been purchased partly from the funds arising out of the bequest made by Francis Henry Egerton, Earl of Bridgwater, in the year 1825, and partly from the grant annually made by Parliament. They are said by the vendors to have been obtained at an auction in Kent; but how they were brought from Dover they are unable to say,—probably borrowed for some literary purpose, and not returned. Instances of this kind have been and are of frequent occurrence. There are, at this present time, in the hands of a broker at Ipswich, two large boxes of early documents relating to Bury St. Edmund's, which had been so taken (probably from the Guildhall there), which were a short time since sold for waste paper at a local auction.

The records in question extend, with a few breaks in the chronology, from the year 1354 to 1768. A brief account of them cannot, we presume, fail to be interesting at this particular moment. They are as follow :—ordinances for the better government of the town, 1385; accounts, receipts, and expenditure of the Wardens of Dover between the years 1380 and 1598; correspondence and papers relating to the affairs of Dover during the Wardenship of Edward Lord Zouch; Thomas Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; and Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, between 1615 and 1636; original accounts of receipts and expenses of the Corporation between 1365 and 1546; extracts of similar accounts from the time of Edward III to the reign of William and Mary; fragments of Registers, 1426-56; courts held before the Mayors between 1383 and 1426; acts and decrees made by the Mayor, jurats, and commons, 1545 and in 1603-71; cases tried before the Mayor, bailiffs, and jurats, and punishments awarded, between 1428 and 1436, 1603 and 1624; minutes of proceedings of Common Council and of the Mayor and Corporation from 1506-1768; proceedings of the Sessions of Peace, 1601-92; *compoti* of Mayors of Dover, 1510-13; extracts from the Court-Books of the Corporation, chiefly final concords, indentures, recognizances, etc., from 1558-1668; depositions made before the Mayor and jurats, 1630-59; proceedings at courts,

viz., hundreds' courts, 1506-1605; horn-blowing courts, *temp.* Henry VI and 1506-1605; guestling-meetings, 1558-1768; brotherhoods, 1558-1668; courts of lode-manage or pilots' fellowship, 1550-1725; entertainment of ambassadors and other distinguished personages, *temp.* Henry VIII; royal proclamations concerning Dover, 1520-1615; accounts of the wardens of the "wyke" or pier, and of its "maintences", from 1510-65; receipts of the "fere-boys" or ferry-boys plying between Dover and Calais, 1518-25; accounts of Dover Almshouse from 1588-1690; wardens' accounts of St. Mary's Church, Dover, from 1536-1558.

In concluding this brief account of the Dover records at the British Museum, it may be added that the charters and deeds are twenty-three in number, being chiefly grants to the Hospital of Domus Dei and the Priory of St. Martin.

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CASTLE OF DEVIZES.

BY W. H. BUTCHER, ESQ.

(Read Feb. 20, 1884.)

OF the early inhabitants of the mound upon which the mediæval Castle of Devizes was reared, we have no written records; but from the amount of British remains found, consisting of roughly made querns, and pottery, it was doubtless a settlement of some of the tribes of ancient Britain. Different kinds of Roman pottery have also been discovered (together with a fine lacrine or tear-bottle), well worthy of notice, thus pointing to the fact that the Romans used it as a station during at least a portion of their occupation of that part of the country.

The first written mention of the Castle I have been able to discover was in 1106, when Henry I returned to England, after his victorious campaigns in Normandy, bringing with him his brother Robert, whom he ordered to be deprived of all his honours, and to be safely kept in the Castle of Devizes; twelve knights being appointed to guard him, that while six were resting the other six might keep wakeful watch diligently about their prisoner.<sup>1</sup> How long the Duke remained in confinement here is not known, but in the year 1113 it is briefly recorded that "the Castles of Devizes, London and Lincoln, were burnt";<sup>2</sup> and a few years after, in 1123, Roger, Bishop of Old Sarum, erected his "Castrum at Divisas" upon the hill at the point where the Bishop's ancient manors of Cannings and Potterne, and the King's manor of Rowde, and also the hundreds of Cannings and of Rouberg Episcopi, met, hence the name "Divises" or boundaries. Upon this Castle, we are informed by William of Malmesbury, the Bishop spent great and almost incalculable sums; and of which, when it was completed, Ordericus

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Madden, i, 206; and Sandford, *Gen. Hist.*, 1707, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Winchester*, Luard's; *Ann. Linc.*, M. R., vol. ii, p. 44.

Vitalis used the emphatic words, "There was not a more splendid fortress in Europe." And Matthew Paris mentions it as being "one of the most gorgeous in Christendom." Of the life of the Bishop in the Castle, the historians inform us nothing; but in the year 1121 we find Bishop Roger admitting to the grade of a Deacon and Priest, at his Castle called "Divisio" (*i.e.*, Devizes), a certain clerk, a native of Ireland (who came to England to be ordained by reason of the ancient amity existing between the two countries), named Gregory, who had been elected by the King of Ireland, the clergy and people, to the bishoprick of Dublin.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of King Henry, Bishop Roger joined Stephen, and his son, surnamed "Pauper", was made by that King, Chancellor; but in the year 1137, being doubtful of the King's intention towards himself, the Bishop commenced fortifying the Castle against him; upon hearing which, Stephen summoned Roger and his son to Oxford, but the Bishop having a strong suspicion as to what this order might mean, took with him his two nephews, namely the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, "with a very large military array of arms and horses equipped in various manners."<sup>2</sup> The King, suspecting treachery, forcibly arrested Roger, his son, and the Bishop of Lincoln, and having taken them as his prisoners to Devizes, which was held by the Bishop of Ely (who had fled on hearing of the arrest of his uncle) and by Matilda of Ramsbury, very strongly fortified, he confined Roger in the stall of a cattle shed, threatening him with starvation unless he gave up the Castle, and led out the Chancellor to be hung on a gallows before its gates; upon hearing which Matilda sent the keys of the fortress to Stephen, and the Bishop sorrowfully surrendered it, with all the treasures, arms, and money therein contained, to the King, by way of ransom; and, having retired to Sarum, he shortly afterwards died, worn out with age and grief for the severity with which he had been treated.

In 1139 Stephen was again in Wiltshire, besieging Trowbridge Castle (which was held by the partisans of the Empress Matilda), but failing in the attempt, he

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials Walt. de Coventriâ*, ed. Stubbs, M. R., vol. i, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Gerv. Cant., M. R., 103, from *Cart. of Florence of Worcester*.

retired to London, leaving in the Castle at Devizes a chosen and disciplined body of soldiers for the annoyance of the Trowbridge garrison; and the two parties alternately, by their hostile incursions, reduced all the neighbouring country to a desolate solitude.<sup>1</sup>

In Passion Week of the following year (1140) Robert Fitz-Hubert, a Fleming, who is described<sup>2</sup> as being a man of great cruelty, unequalled in villany and crime, in the pay of the Earl of Gloucester, with a detachment of his soldiers, attacked the royal Castle of Devizes, by means of scaling ladders cleverly formed of thongs, which he threw over the battlements, and which reached to the foot of the wall. Having thus effected an entrance, escaping the vigilance of the guard, he secured in their sleep the royal garrison, except a few who, roused by the noise in the dead of night, hastily betook themselves to the Keep; but as they had no provisions, and no succour arrived from the King's party, they surrendered after a few days; and having thus obtained the Castle, Robert boasted that he would occupy the whole tract of country from Winchester to London, and would send for knights from Flanders for his protection. In this design, however, he was foiled, for he was shortly after made prisoner by John Fitz-Gilbert at Marlborough, and handed over to the Earl of Gloucester, who brought him to Devizes and had him hanged in the sight of his own people. After his execution his comrades surrendered the Castle for a large sum (paid by the King) to his son-in-law Hervey, Count of Brittany. For some time this nobleman maintained an incessant and vigorous conflict with the King's enemies; but in the following year he was beleaguered in the Castle by a rude multitude of country people banded together for his ruin, and at last he was forced to surrender the Castle into the Empress's hands, and retired beyond the sea.

Upon the termination of the siege of Winchester, and the rout of the Empress's followers (in which the Earl of Gloucester was taken prisoner), Matilda, attended only by Brian Fitz-Count, Lord of the Castle of Wallingford, fled, first to Ludgershall, and then to Devizes; but, being

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Steph.* (Bohn), 370.

<sup>2</sup> Will. Malm., *Hist. Novell.*, p. 773, and *Acts of Steph.* (Bohn), 374.

pressed by the partisans of Stephen, she was borne out of the Castle, tied on a litter with ropes; like a dead body, so that a horse could carry her, and thus escaped to the city of Gloucester.<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Gloucester having been exchanged for Stephen (who in his turn had been taken prisoner), again joined the forces of the Empress; and during the Lent and Pentecost of the following year Matilda held two great councils at Devizes, being surrounded by her nobles.<sup>2</sup>

Of the charters granted by the Empress, seven are known to have been dated from Devizes,<sup>3</sup> but the charter "to her Burgesses" of that town, granting them freedom from tolls and customs throughout the land and seaports, is dated from Reading, and witnessed by the Bishop of Ely only.

The Pope having threatened Matilda in 1148 with excommunication for holding the ecclesiastical manors of Potterne and Cannings, a declaration in the presence of the Archbishop of Rouen was made by her, that by command of the Pope she had restored to God the church of Salisbury, and to Joceline, her Bishop, all those lands which she held in her hands at Cannings and Potterne, with their appurtenances; and that she would never abstract the said lands from the church of Sarum, or disturb their quiet possession, and she commanded her son Henry to adhere to that her act of restoration, and thus seek his own welfare and her honour. And this declaration was confirmed by a charter given by the said Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, to the church of Sarum.

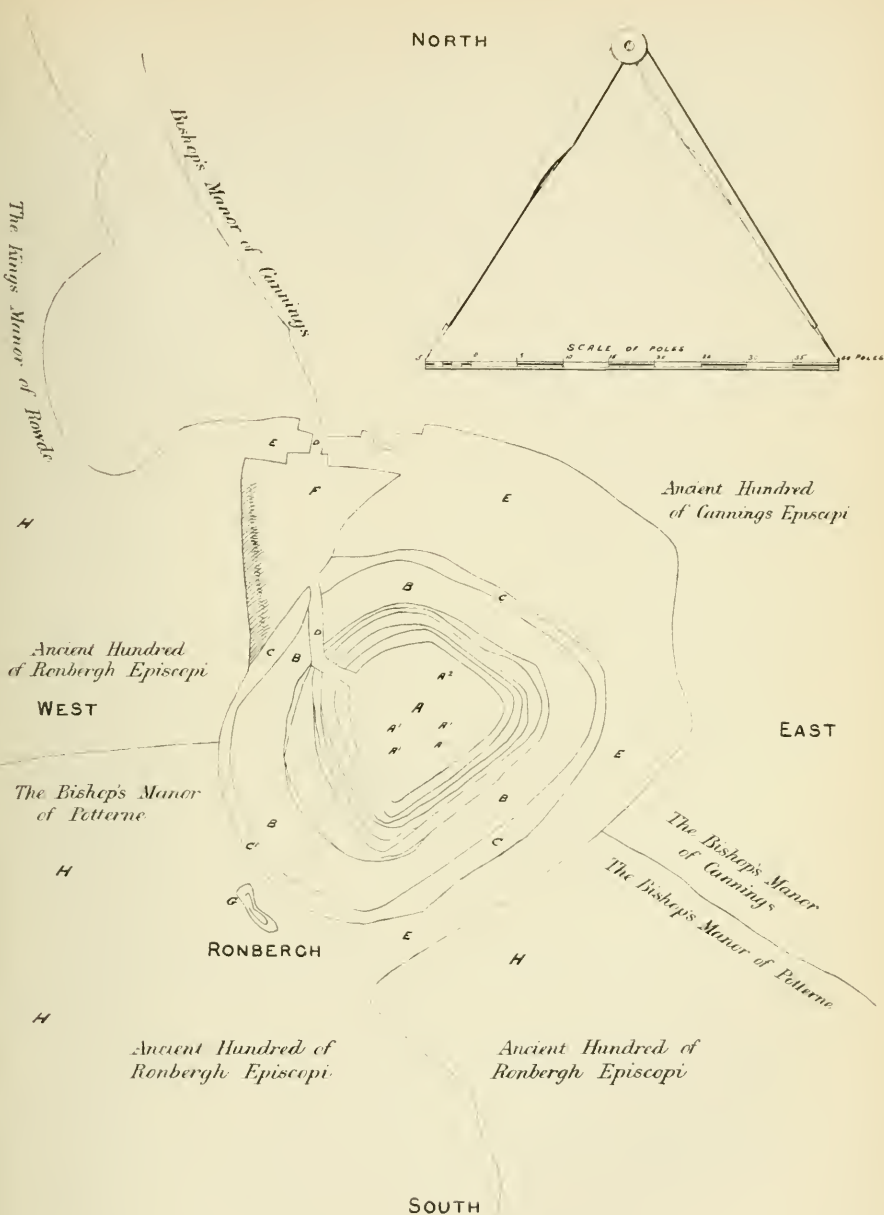
In the following year (1149), Prince Henry, who had been absent more than two years, returned to England with a choice body of troops, with a view to a more vigorous prosecution of his own and his mother's cause. At the same time he formed the resolution of visiting his great-uncle David, the Scottish King, to concert with him measures for the accomplishment of his designs. On his way thither, at the head of a numerous escort of knights and infantry, he sojourned at his Castle at Devizes, and on that occasion signed a ratification of the above declaration of his mother, but expressly excepting therefrom "the Castle of Devizes, which is situated in

<sup>1</sup> Gerv. Cant., 121, from *Carl. Flor. Wigorn.*

<sup>2</sup> For list of same, see note A.

<sup>3</sup> For list see note B.

# DEVIZES CASTLE.



PLAN OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THE CASTRUM AD DEVIZES AND THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF THE MANORS OF THE KING AND BISHOP, AND OF THE ANCIENT HUNDREDS.





the manor of Cannings, of the church of Sarum, and the burgh and park, and the services of the knights of the said manor, which, on account of my necessity, I have hitherto retained in my hands, by the good sufferance of the Bishop, till God shall so magnify me that I shall be in a condition to give them back."

Finally, in 1157, it was arranged between Henry (then King) and the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Castle, borough, and park, should be retained by him, in exchange for certain royal lands, and from that period till the reign of Charles I they remained royal property.<sup>1</sup>

In 1174 the Castle became a royal prison, for upon the revolt of his sons, Henry committed Queen Eleanor, the young Queen Margaret, the Earl of Chester, the Earl and Countess of Leicester, and, one author says, the wives of the Princes Richard and Geoffrey, to the Castle.<sup>2</sup> Devizes was probably comprised in a large grant of castles and manors made by Richard I to his brother John; and on the latter's ascending the throne, he appointed Thomas de Sandford Constable, and made it a depôt for knights and arms, and also a storehouse for his treasure; for we find, in 1213, the Constable was commanded to deliver up to Brien del Isle 20,000 sacks of the marks lying in the Castle of Devizes;<sup>3</sup> and again, the same year, 50,000 marks were sent thither from Bristol,<sup>4</sup> and on the 5th December in the following year the King received in his chamber at Devizes a golden cabinet set with precious stones.<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1209 John imprisoned his Queen, Isabella of Angoulême, in the Castle.<sup>6</sup> During that King's reign he generally visited Devizes twice a year, his last visit being just before his death, during which time it is recorded he very strongly fortified it with knights, victuals, and arms. On which occasion he granted a charter to the monks of Malmesbury, giving them leave to destroy the Castle there, and to convert the place to their own proper use.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the above documents see note C.

<sup>2</sup> Eyton's *Court.*, etc., Henry II, pp. 179 and 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i, 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>5</sup> "Missæ Roll", Hardy's *Itin. K. John*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Gene. Cant.*, Stubbs, M. R., ii, 107.

<sup>7</sup> *Reg. Malmesbury Abbey* (Record Office), fo. 140.

On the accession of Henry III, John Mareschall was appointed constable. The Patent Rolls inform us of constant work being carried on, thus pointing to a large extension of the fortifications, the Castle still remaining a royal treasury.<sup>1</sup> In 1218 the King's falconers, with horses, pages, and greyhounds, were sent to Devizes from the first Sunday after Easter to the Feast of St. Michael,<sup>2</sup> and doubtless much good sport was enjoyed in the surrounding neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup>

During the governorship of Peter de Mauley in 1233, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent and Justiciary, was (under the care of William, Earl of Warren, Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, and John Scott, Earl of Chester) committed to the Castle and imprisoned with iron chains; but, hearing that Peter, Bishop of Winchester, his great enemy, had applied to the King for the custody of the Castle, with the intention of destroying him, he was carried in the night by two of his servants down from the tower and across the moat to St. John's Church, before the altar of which he was soon discovered, and dragged back to the Castle. But the Bishop of Salisbury, hearing of this outrage, threatened all those who were concerned in it with excommunication, unless Hubert was returned to the sanctuary, which was done. The King, in the meantime, issued a warrant to the Sheriff of Wilts, ordering him to guard the church so that Hubert should not escape.<sup>4</sup> He was, however, rescued by Gilbert Basset and an armed host on the Feast of St. Luke, and carried off by them to Wales,<sup>5</sup> where he shortly after made his peace with the King, and finally was restored to his honours and the King's favour.<sup>6</sup>

The *Rotuli Hundredorum*, compiled during the latter part of the reign of Henry III and commencement of Edward I, state that the Castle could be kept in repair in the time of peace for twenty-five marks, and no less.

Edward I paid frequent visits to, and issued many warrants from, Devizes during his reign, spending Easter there in 1281, where he collected his army previous to

<sup>1</sup> See note D.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i, 353.

<sup>3</sup> See note E.

<sup>4</sup> See note F.

<sup>5</sup> *Annals of Dunstaple*, Luard, 137, 138.

<sup>6</sup> For full account of Hubert de Burgh see note G.

starting to suppress the Welsh rebellion of that year.<sup>1</sup> The Castle, manor, parks, and borough of Devizes were granted by this sovereign, as part of the dower, to his Queen Eleanor, and from that time formed part of the dower of no less than twelve queens,<sup>2</sup> who in their turn appointed the constables.<sup>3</sup>

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was appointed governor about 1419; he left "his strong Castle of Devizes" on the 10th of February 1447 for the opening of Parliament. The following day he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and he died a fortnight later.

During the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII the Castle fell into decay, and is thus described by John Leyland, who visited it about the year 1538: "There is a castell on the southewest syde of the toune, stately avauncyd upon an highe ground defendyd partly by nature, and partly with dykes, the yere [earth] whereof is cast up a slope, and that of a greate height to defence of the waulle. This Castle was made in Henry I dayes by one Roger Byshope of Salisbyrye, Chauncelar and Treasurer to the Kynge. Such a pece of castle worke, so costly and strongly, was never afore nor sence set up by any Byshope of England. The Kepe or Dungeon of it, set upon an hille, cast by hand, is a peace of worke of an incredible coste. There appear in the gate of it 6 or 7 places for porte colacis, and muche goodly buyldying was in it. It is now in ruine, and parte of the front of the towres of the gate of the kepe and the chapell in it were carried full unprofitably onto the buyldynge of Master Bainton's Place at Brome-ham, scant 3 myles of. There remayne dyvers goodly towres yet in the utter walle of the Castle, but all goynge to ruine. The principall gate that ledithe in to the towne is yet of a great strengthe, and hathe places for 7 or 8 porte colices. There is a fayre parke by the Castle."<sup>4</sup> And in Lambard's *Dictionary of the Chief Places in England*, published c. 1570, Devizes is thus mentioned: "The Castle, from being the most gorgeous in Christendom, has become fellow with and most decayed."

On the accession of Edward VI he granted "the fortress

<sup>1</sup> William Rashanger's *Chron. of St. Alban's*, ed. Riley, M. R. Series, 1865, pp. 97 and 98.

<sup>2</sup> See note H.

<sup>3</sup> See note I.

<sup>4</sup> Leyland's *Itin.*, vii, 85.

and Castle of Vyse, and the lordship and manor of Vyse, otherwise called Le Vyse", to Lord Seymour of Sudely, Lord High Admiral (who was afterwards attainted for high treason and executed), to hold by the service of one knight's fee, and payment yearly of 33s. 6d. Queen Elizabeth leased the same to the Clothiers of the town, who were then rising in importance; and James I renewed the lease to the Mayor and burgesses in the year 1612. Records are preserved of several visits of that King to Devizes, but it is uncertain if he lodged in the Castle.

At the commencement of the civil wars in 1642 the town and Castle were in the hand of the King's party. After the battle of Lansdown, which was fought on 5th July 1643, the Royalists retired towards Devizes to await a reinforcement of powder from Oxford. Sir William Waller came up with them at Chippenham, and a running fight was kept up to Devizes: the Royalists, however, entered the town safely on the 9th; but Waller, with his whole army, proceeded to cut off all communication with Oxford by seizing the surrounding downs. The Royalists at once found there was not sufficient accommodation for their cavalry in the Castle, so they despatched Lord Hartford and Prince Maurice with the cavalry the same night to Oxford to ask for reinforcements, who by the following morning got safely into the King's quarters. Lord Clarendon observes that "the town was quite open, without the least fortification or defence but small ditches and hedges, upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted".<sup>1</sup>

Waller being informed of the departure of the cavalry, besieged the town, and having raised a battery on a hill near, he poured his shot into it without interruption, and attempted to enter it in several places, but was repulsed. Having been informed by his scouts of the approach of a train of ammunition under the Earl of Crawford, he seized the same, and summoned the town to surrender to the Government. A parley then commenced, which gave the Royalists seven or eight hours' rest, and saved ammunition, both of which they much needed. It being discovered that there was but one

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *Great Rebellion*, ed. 1732, p. 230.



hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store, the officers were directed to search every house, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and cause them to be beaten and boiled. By which expedition there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundredweight of serviceable match. The church roofs were stripped of their lead, which was made into bullets; and a trusty townsman, Alderman Richard Pierce, informed Lord Hopton where for some time he had hidden powder; this was in the tower of St. John's Church. The following day Waller continued to bombard the town, but no assault was made, and he amused himself by writing to the Parliament to say that "by the next post he hoped to forward a catalogue of the number and quality of his prisoners."

On the afternoon of the 12th, the outworks of the town were attacked, and after four hours' fighting were carried, the Parliamentary horse charging up some of the streets, and again Waller called on the garrison to surrender; and this time another parley of eight hours took place, which was all the Royalists required. In the meantime, the Marquis of Hartford and Prince Maurice having reached Oxford, and informed the King of the desperate state of the garrison, His Majesty at once despatched Lord Wilmot with fifteen hundred horse to the relief of the town. They arrived about two miles away on the Thursday morning, and Waller withdrew from the town, and assembled all his forces on Roundway Down to meet them. The garrison were quickly informed that relief was at hand, and marched with alacrity to join the fight.

Sir William Waller having put his army in battle array, and observing the enemy were much inferior to him in numbers, separated his horse from his foot, and at once ordered Sir Arthur Hazlerig with his regiment of horse to charge, which he did; and after a sharp conflict they were driven back on the other horse; Lord Wilmot the same moment charging from division to division so sharply, that in half an hour the whole of Waller's cavalry were broken, routed, and scattered, and being pursued by the Royalists, we are informed, "more perished by falls and bruises from their horses than by the sword." The foot still stood firm, making a show of resistance; but

Lord Wilmot having seized their cannon, turned them on themselves, and the garrison then arriving, the enemy were charged on all sides, and very few escaped death or being taken prisoners. Sir William Waller rapidly fled to Bristol, being the first to enter that town with the news of his disaster. Sir Ralph Hopton, with a garrison, was left in Devizes, the main body of the Royalists at once advancing towards Bath and Bristol to follow up the victory of Roundway.

Although the town was visited in June 1644 by Colonel Massey, the Parliamentary Governor of Gloucester, who ordered the destruction of the fortifications within four days, and by Colonel Ludlow (the Parliamentary High Sheriff) with a body of county horse, the Castle with its garrison, under the command of Lord Goring and Sir R. Hopton, remained in the hands of the Royalists; and Sir Charles Lloyd, the King's Chief Engineer and Quartermaster-General, having been appointed Governor, with a commission to restore the fortifications round Devizes, "added to the strength of the natural situation by cutting out of the main earth several works commanding one another, and so strong that no cannon could pierce them; besides that, palisaded and stoccaded in most places, it was rendered a matter of extreme difficulty to storm"; he also obtained large supplies from the surrounding country for the use of the soldiers. Constant engagements took place during his governorship between the garrison and the Parliamentary troops, that were either quartered, or on the march, through various parts of North Wilts, and many daring deeds and bold adventures are recorded.

In the month of March 1645 Sir James Long (the Royalists' High Sheriff), with his entire force, was summoned from Devizes to Oxford to escort the Prince of Wales to Bristol; and on the 4th of that month the Prince, together with the Archbishop of Armagh and Lords Colepepper and Hopton and many other Royalists, left Oxford; and on the 7th they reached the Castle of Devizes. The fact is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts of S. Mary's Parish thus, "Paid for ringing when the Prince came in, 7s. 2d."

On the 9th, Sir James Long having fulfilled his com

mission rejoined Sir C. Lloyd at the Castle; but on the 12th Sir W. Waller attacking the works on the south side of the town, the Sheriff and his horse retreated and were made prisoners to the number of four hundred. Shortly after this Sir William Waller and his horse penetrated into the town in a skirmish, and charged up to the Castle gates; but as he was unprovided with foot and battering rams, he quickly retired. He thus describes the adventure in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons: "On my way between Calne and Lavington I passed by the Devizes, where the enemy's horse sallying forth, we charged them and beat them into the town, falling pell-mell with them, and if we had foot I might have bid fair to have taken the Castle. We took a lieutenant-colonel and divers officers and prisoners and two hundred very good horses." On the garrison recovering from their consternation, a body of horse issued forth, and fell upon and routed Waller's rear-guard at Marlborough.

In June 1645 Sir C. Lloyd destroyed Bromham Hall, the residence of Sir Edward Baynton, a Parliamentarian, which was described in a letter of the period as being "one of the famousest buildings of these western parts, a stately fabric of stone with a store of very rich furniture".

After the fall of Bristol on the 10th September 1645, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with five thousand men and a train of heavy artillery, advanced on Devizes to reduce the Castle. Part of the garrison having fled, Sir C. Lloyd found it impossible to make a lengthened defence of the outworks, and he speedily retired into the Castle itself. Cromwell then mounted a battery of ten guns in the market-place, and "with incessant peals of muskets, great guns, and mortar pieces", played upon the garrison "all day and night without the least reserve", and on the following morning (Tuesday, 23rd), a shell having fallen into the roofless keep, which was the powder magazine, Sir C. Lloyd proposed to capitulate. Cromwell on his part submitted his own terms,<sup>1</sup> with an intimation that unless they were agreed to forthwith, the place would be carried by storm, and no quarter given.

<sup>1</sup> See note K.

To these terms the Governor consented, and on the 24th September Sir Charles Lloyd and the garrison marched out, and the Castle was handed over to the Parliamentary forces, and Captain Thomas Eyre (a Wiltshireman) having been appointed Governor, Cromwell departed for Winchester. Of the stores found in the Castle, there were five large and several smaller pieces of artillery, 400 stands of arms, 500 fitches of bacon, 500 barrels of beef, 120 fat sheep, with much wheat and malt. So that, properly garrisoned, the Castle could have stood a long siege.

Great rejoicing took place in London on the announcement of the fall of the Castle. The Commons voted the messenger who brought the news £10, and an order was issued appointing a public thanksgiving on the following Sunday, for the success of the Parliamentary arms in taking the town and Castle of Devizes, the Lord Mayor to give timely notice thereof to the ministers of all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster. It was also ordered "that it be referred to the Committee of the West to consider what is fit to be done with the Castle and garrison at Devizes, and to report their opinion with speed to the House". During the winter of 1645-6 Sir James Long made one effort to seize the Castle on behalf of the King, but he failed, only giving the garrison "a terrible alarm".

On the 4th May 1646, upon the report from the Committee of the West, it was resolved by the Commons "that the Castle hill and works at Devizes be forthwith slighted"; but this order does not appear to have been immediately carried out, for in the Borough Accounts of 1650 we find an entry, "For horse hire and sending out warrants and other expenses about demolishing the Castle in 1648, 16s." The remains of the Castle soon became a quarry for the builders, as the cellars and walls of many of the houses in the town testify, and the site passed into private hands, only one tower remaining to show where the once famous Castle stood; until, a few years ago, the present owner, Mr. Leech, opened some of the foundations and disclosed a portion of the Norman building, viewed by the Association at the Congress in August 1880.



## NOTES TO THE FOREGOING PAPER.

## A.

From the various Charters issued by the Empress Matilda from Devizes we find the following amongst the names of her nobles there assembled :

Wm. Cumin	Humphrey de Bohun, the Stew- ard
Gualeran Count of Mellent	Wm. Fitz Allen
Wm. de Pontearch', <i>al.</i> Wm. de Pontearchis, Chamberlain	Joscius de Dinan
Wm. de Beauchamp	Walkeline Maminot
Milo Earl of Hereford	Wm. Paganell
Wm. de Feblabo, <i>al.</i> Wm. Dis- fublat	Wm. Fitz-Hamon
Geoffrey de Walterville	Hugh Fitz-Richard
Joscelin de Baillol	Riulf de Sessun
Wm. de Pino	Geoffrey de Waterville
Robt. de Fremoville	Bernard Bishop of St. David's
John de Lunda	Gislebert Abbot of Gloucester
Ralph de Mauleville	Wm. de Dover, the Constable
Robt. Earl of Gloucester	Humphrey Fitz-Odo
Reginald Earl of Cornwall	Robt. de Dunstanville

## B.

List of Charters, dated from Devizes, by the Empress Matilda :

- a. Grant of a hermitage at Kanoc (Cannoe) to the Brethren of Radmore.
- b. Foundation Charter of Bordesley Abbey.
- c. Grant of various possessions to Bordesley Abbey.
- d. Grant of Blewberry, Berkshire, to the Abbey of Reading.
- e. A duplicate of the same.
- f. Grant of various possessions and offices to Humphrey de Bohun.
- g, h. Charter of Heytesbury Church, Wilts (preserved in Bishop Osmund's Register, fol. 95).

The Nos. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, are printed in full in Mr. W. de Gray Birch's "Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis, Empress of the Romans";<sup>1</sup> *g* and *h* in Rev. Canon Jones' ed. of *Bishop Osmund's Register*, Rolls Series, i, pp. 340, 345.

## C.

The following documents are preserved at Salisbury :

"Matilda Empress, and daughter of King Henry, to her son Henry and all her faithful followers health and prosperity. Know that I, by the command of the Lord the Pope, have restored to God and to the Church of Sarum, that is, to Joceline her Bishop, all those lands which I held in my hands, the Cannings and Potterns ("terras Caningas et Poternas"), with all their appurtenances, as well in men as in

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxxi, pp. 376-398.



land. And this restoration I have made in the presence of the Lord Hugh Archbishop of Rouen, and of many Abbots of Normandy, and of my Barons, before whom it was made, to the intent that I will never, either of myself or by my signature, abstract the said lands from the Church of Sarum, or disturb their quiet possession. Therefore I command you, and thee my son Henry, that on your parts you adhere to this my act of restoration, by delivering in peace the said lands to the Bishop, and holding me assoiled from sin and excommunication. Thus shall ye seek your own welfare and my honour. Witness, Hugh Archbishop of Rouen, at Falaise in Normandy."

"A Charter of the Church of Sarum, given by Hugh Archbishop of Rouen for the Confirmation of the Act and Restitution made by the Empress Matilda", etc.:

"Hugh, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Rouen, to the Dean and entire Metropolitan Church of Sarum health and grace. Know all that we, by the command of the Lord the Pope, have convened with the Empress, that with regard to the lands which she abstracted from the Church of Sarum, and held, she will restore them. Also she hath verily acknowledged, in our presence, the audacity of the said inroad on the Church's possessions; hath openly recognised the rights of the said Church, and in obedience to the mandate of our Lord the Pope, she hath restored the Cannings and Potters, etc., etc., to God and the Church; and with her own royal hand resigned them, whole and entire, into the hand of our venerable brother Joceline, who was then present; also she hath declared before us, as before our spiritual adviser, that neither she nor any one over whom her influence extends shall infest or seize the said lands; but that she will preserve them to the Church in all freedom and integrity. Made in our presence and in that of our Venerable Brother Joceline, Bishop of Sarum; of Walter, the Lord Abbot of Foulencia; the Lord Abbot of St. Almand, of Salop; William, Prior of St. Barbara; Ganfred, Dean of Rouen; Richard, Dean of Bayeux; and others. June, A.D. 1148, at Falaise."

"Henry, son of the Duke of Normandy and Earl of Anjou. To the Archbishops, Bishops, and others, greeting. Know that I have restored to the Church of Sarum and to Joceline her Bishop, his Manor of Cannings with the Hundred thereof, with its liberties, customs, and appurtenances in land, water, and plain, as freely and quietly as ever his predecessors, Osmund and Roger, held it in the days of my grandfather Henry and his predecessors. Excepting the Castle of Devizes, situated in the said Manor, and the Borough and Park; excepting also the services of the Knights holding the said Manor, which by the good sufferance of the Bishop, I hold till I shall be so magnified as to be able to give them back; excepting also five hides of the said Manor occupied by Robert Fitz-Ralph, and two hides held by Gregory at Rindeveram, and half a hide which Barleben, the porter, holds, which three men albeit hold under the sufferance of the Bishop for a year after the Feast of St. Michael next, and then their lease falls to him. This Charter was written and restitution made at the Castle of the Devizes in the Ides of April 1149, in the presence of Roger Earl of Bedford, Patrick Earl of Sarum, John Fitz-Gilbert, Goro Dinant, W'm de

Bello Campo, Elias Giffard, Roger de Berkley, John de Saint John, Hubert de Valibus, Thomas Bassett, Henry Hoescat, Humphrey Fitz-Odo, Menasser Byset, Hugh Fitz-Richard, and Ralph Fitz-Richard, Clerks, Robert Dean of Sarum, Gregory the Cupbearer, Hervey Archdeacon of Sarum, Willibert de Bello Fago, and Robert de St. Pantio."

"Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England and Legate of the Apostolic See, to all, greeting. Know that in the presence of our Venerable Brothers, Richard Archbishop of York, Richard Bishop of Lincoln, and Henry Bishop of Chester, for the adjustment of the quit-claim of our Lord the King, in the matter of the Castle of Devizes, with the two Parks and the Borough, as the same are now set out and enclosed by dykes, the King hath covenanted to deliver to Jocelin, Bishop of Sarum, in exchange, thirty libratas of Royal demesne lands free from incumbrance. And the King accords to the Bishop full power to recall all the distracted and dissipated portions of his Bishoprick, in order that the See may be placed on the same footing which it held in the days of Bishop Osmund and in the day when King Henry was alive and dead. Moreover the King restores the Churches of Westbury, Figheldean, Odiham, and Godalming, and the Prebends of Bedminster and Ramsbury. Sealed in the year 1157, on the morrow after the Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist."

## D.

A.D. 1224.

"The King to his Barons of Exchequer, greeting. Accompt ye to David, Abbot of Saint Augustine's, Bristol, Henry Fitz-Gerold, and John de Erlegh, executors of the testament of William Earl Marshal, 18 golden rings, set with the finest emeralds, from our treasury of Divises, which was in the custody of Thomas de Sanford, which rings the same Earl delivered according to our precept to Terrie de Sotingeham for a hundred and four score pounds, for discharging his liveries (*i.e.*, wages), and those of the knights and serjeants who were with him, etc.....

"Accompt ye also to the same six rings set with rubies from the same treasury, which the same Earl delivered according to our precept to Hugh de Bernevalle, for sixty marks, for discharging his liveries and those of the knights and serjeants who were with him in the Castle of the Divises, etc."<sup>1</sup>.....

## E.

"The King to E(ustache),<sup>2</sup> Treasurer, and to G. and R. Chamberlains, greeting. Deliver from our Treasury to John Marshall 100 shillings, which he laid out in our expenses when last we were at Devizes; deliver also the cost which he laid out by view and witness of lawful men in the carpenters, plasterers, miners, hottars [<sup>?</sup>], ditchers, and watchmen, and in a certain furnace (?) which was made for the use of the works of Devizes Castle, and the cost which he laid

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i, 602.

<sup>2</sup> Eustace de Fauconbridge, afterwards Bishop of London.

out by view and witness of lawful men, in Ralph de Hauville, Thomas de Westun and Michael, our Falconers, with 3 horses, 3 pages, 9 gerfalcons, 1 falcongente, and 6 greyhounds for 28 weeks, to wit, from 'Clausum Pascha'<sup>1</sup> in the first year of our reign until a fortnight after the Feast of St. Michael next ensuing. But because we have not yet had a seal we have caused these letters to be sealed with the seal of Earl William Marshall, Governor of us and of our Kingdom. Witness the Earl, at Marlborough, 4th day of March, in the second year of our reign."

"The King to Philip Marc, greeting. We send to you Ralph de Hauville with four gerfalcons for moulting, and [he is accompanied] with his horse and a page and with five greyhounds and one dog of scent, commanding that ye cause the necessary things to be provided for them as long as they be with you; and it shall be accompted to you at the Exchequer. But because, etc. Witness as before, in the second year of our reign."

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F.

King Henry III's Warrant to the Sheriff of Wilts:

"It is commanded to the Sheriff of Wilts that as he loves his own body, he be at the Divises in *propiâ personâ* with the posse comitatus on Wednesday the morrow of St. Luke the Evangelist, in the early morning, and by keeping Hubert de Burgh within the Church of St. John, both day and night, to prevent his escape by any means. Dated at Westminster 15 Oct'r, 17 Henry III."

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G.

"Full account of imprisonment of Hubert de Burgh, from Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.*, ed. Madden, M. R. ii, 359-361.

"About this time Peter, Bishop of Winchester, not mentioning Hubert de Burgh who was kept in prison at Devizes, made a very urgent request of the King that he would grant him the custody of the said Castle, with the intention (as was believed and reported) of getting the power of destroying Hubert, either by ..... or by starvation. But Hubert, forewarned of this intended crime by two servants who ministered to him, revealed to them this hidden policy [of the Bishop of Winchester] under the strictness of their fealty and their oath. And they, feeling for his perilous condition and terror, anxiously sought how they might deliver him from the danger of death.

"Having therefore considered the timely opportunity, while the Castellans were asleep and the watchers dozing, one of them, guided by the other, at the time of the first night-watch of Michaelmas, took the aforesaid Hubert, fettered as he was, upon his shoulders, and descending, unknown to the warders, down the tower, and carrying his pious robbery down, crossed the whole length of the Castle side (pious and wicked by the same action). And jumping down from a certain bastion of the wall he fell into a certain bramble-bush which

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<sup>1</sup> First Sunday after Easter.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, i, 353.

had grown on the side of the fosse, whereby the shackles made but little clanking, and not a single bone of him was broken.<sup>1</sup>

"The servants, too, were considering how to follow, for they were aware that all three were in danger of their lives. Cautiously therefore, and unhurt, they began to make their way down, without any noise, to their master. And one of them, who seemed to be the stronger, taking Hubert upon his shoulders, crossed the fosse, but with difficulty, and thus they made their way into the Parish Church of the town, thinking there to gain a safe refuge. For the priest awakened, thinking that some one had come to ask for the Eucharist, opened the door to them.

"Meanwhile the Castellans having been awakened, were gravely moved when they did not find Hubert in the accustomed place; and going in a band out of the Castle, as they did not find him in it, searched and explored everything with lanterns and staves, until at length they were informed that Hubert had been set free from his fetters in the church; and running thither hurriedly in a crowd, they found him before the altar, holding the cross in his hand, and kissing the wound of the Crucified One earnestly, with tears, praying that he might receive consolation from God for so many tribulations.

"But the King's men raving at him, with their servants, and their fists wickedly striking and pushing him, lead him back to the Castle, and placed him, thus beaten, under stricter watch than before.

"But when the news of these doings had come to the ears of Robert Bishop of Salisbury, he came down quickly to the Castle, commanding those very men who had violated the Church to set free Hubert in enjoyment of the peace of the Church, replacing him as quickly as they could in the same state as they had found him. But the Castellans noisily enough replied to the Bishop, and declared they would rather Hubert should be hanged than themselves; and as they would not take him back again, the Bishop, acting upon the powers committed to him, excommunicated them by name who detained him, and who had laid violent hands upon him. Then the Bishop, in company with Roger Bishop of London and certain other Bishops, made his way to the King, laying before him a statement of their complaint against the violence offered to Hubert, and did not quit the King's presence until he had achieved the liberation of the prisoner. And thus the Bishop of Winchester giving way with unwillingness, Hubert was restored to the Church, in the said Church, on the 15th kal. November. But the King being angry about it, commanded by letters the Sheriff of that county to besiege the Church until Hubert should be compelled to quit it by hunger.

"But after a few days Hubert de Burgh was carried off out of the Church of Devizes by armed men, who were led by compassion that he who had so often delivered England, and restored her to her King, should be treated so inhumanely. And directly that Hubert had gone out of the Church there was brought to him a horse of great value, and he himself was handsomely equipped in warlike arms; and about the first hour of the day he was led away into Wales, and associated with the King's enemies on the 3rd kal. November."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note by the original author: "Hubert himself, in the presence of his clerk Lawrence, related this to me when I was writing it down."

<sup>2</sup> This would be the 30th of October.



## H.

List of the Queens to whom the Castle, Manor, Parks, and Borough of Devizes were granted by the Sovereigns as part of their Dower :

Eleanor, first consort of Edward I.

Margaret (sister of Philip King of France), second consort of Edward I.

Isabella, consort of Edward II.

Phillippa of Hainault, consort of Edward III.

Ann of Bohemia, first consort of Richard II.

Joanna of Navarre, consort of Henry V.

Marguerite of Anjou, consort of Henry VI.

Elizabeth Woodville, consort of Edward IV.

Elizabeth of York, consort of Henry VII.

Catherine of Arragon, first consort of Henry VIII.

Catherine Howard, fifth ditto

Catherine Parr, sixth ditto.

## I.

List of the Constables and Governors of the Castle :

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| c. 1199, Thomas de Sandford                              | c. 1276, John de Haverings                    |
| „ 1207, Walter (imprisoned at Corfe Castle by King John) | „ 1281, Ralph de Sandwich                     |
| „ 1216, John Mareschall                                  | „ 1284, John de Ewelesham                     |
| „ 1218, Philip de Albini, Earl of Essex and Arundel      | „ 1286, Matthew Fitz-John                     |
| „ 1221, William de Brewere                               | „ 1307, Hugh le Despencer                     |
| „ 1224, William de Radle                                 | „ 1320, Sir Oliver de Ingham                  |
| „ 1224, John Mareschall, Earl of Warwick                 | „ 1327, Gilbert de Berwick                    |
| „ 1231, Ralph Lord Willington of Devonshire              | „ 1357, Wm. de Edington, Bishop of Winchester |
| „ 1233, Peter de Mauley                                  | „ 1369, Roger de Campo Bello (Beauchamp)      |
| „ 1235, John de Plessitis, Earl of Warwick               | „ 1397, Nicholas de Sharnefield               |
| „ 1263, Robert Lord Neville of Raby                      | „ 1419, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester           |
| „ 1263, Philip Lord Bassett of Wycombe                   | „ 1455, Sir Edward Hungerford                 |
| „ 1271, Elias de Rabeyn                                  | „ 1461, Richard Beauchamp, Bp. of Sarum       |
| c. 1645, Capt. Thomas Eyre.                              | „ 1485, Sir Roger Tocotes                     |
|  | „ 1536, Lord Seymour of Sudeley               |
|  | „ 1640, Sir Charles Lloyd                     |

## K.

The Terms upon which the Castle of Devizes was surrendered by Sir Charles Lloyd to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, 24 September 1645 :

1st. That the town and Castle of the Devizes, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein, shall be surrendered to Lieutenant-General Cromwell for the use of the Parliament.



2nd. That all officers and gentlemen should march to Oxford, or to any other garrison of the King within thirty miles, with both their horses and arms.

3rd. That all private soldiers should march away without arms, only with sticks in their hands; and that they might go to Worcester, but not to any garrison to which their commanders repaired.

4th. That all private gentlemen in the Castle should have liberty to go to their own homes, or have passes beyond the sea.

5th. That all such persons who having once served the Parliament, had afterwards gone over to the King, should be left as prisoners to the mercy of the Lieutenant-General; and that all such others as would consent to take up arms for the Parliament should be entertained.

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THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS  
OF DOVER CASTLE.

BY MAJOR G. T. PLUNKETT, R.E.

(*Read August 1883.*)

WITHOUT touching on archæological points more than is necessary, I propose briefly to show how this ancient Castle grew from a simple earthwork to the walls and towers of the Middle Ages, the bastions and ramparts of the times when artillery came into use, and finally to its present state as a part of the modern fortifications of Dover. I say nothing on archæology, because I speak to those who know more of the subject than myself, and I might touch on subjects which, amongst archæologists themselves, are matters of doubt. For instance, we have been told that that interesting old church from which we have come is the work of the latter days of the Roman occupation, when their power in these lands was passing away; we know that others maintain that it was built at least a century earlier; while many are equally ready to prove that it was not built till Saxon times. Similar doubts hang over the origin of many of the works of defence; so, omitting as far as possible any reference to such debatable points, I will try to describe to you briefly the defences of this position.

If you look out on this side towards the sea, you will obtain a very clear idea of the size and form of the earthen mound on which stands the ancient structure known as the Roman Pharos; whether, as certainly seems probable, these heights had been previously occupied by the Britons, and whether the works extended in this direction so as to cover the greater part of this hill-top, is uncertain; but the fort certainly appears to have originally consisted of a parallelogram, about 400 ft. long and 140 ft. wide, and from that simple beginning it has been extended to its present proportions. Without attempting to fix the date of the various enlargements, the first addition to the parallelogram seems to have been the enclosure of what is now the parade ground below us, following the line past the gate surmounted by Colton's Tower to the

south-west angle, and so on round by the old wall above the trees, up to the foot of the slope by which we ascended to the Keep Yard, and back to the road which leads up to the church. The next great line of defence, in the form of a horse-shoe, is shown pretty clearly by the walls and towers of the Keep Yard, which are built on what may have been the more ancient Saxon earthwork. Then there is the larger horse-shoe, which Mr. Lyon and others say was also originally Saxon work; its base extends towards the west down to that tower with the gateway known as Peverell's Tower, and to the east as far as Averanche's Tower, of which you still see part of the masonry above the modern earthworks. The curve of this horse-shoe is shown by the line of the so-called Norman curtain and towers, and you will see it from the opposite side of this building. The first improvement on these original earthworks, of whatever age they may have been, seems to have been the addition of detached towers standing round them, from which archers could annoy an enemy attempting to mount the slopes. These additions were probably found necessary, owing to improvements in archery. In earlier times it seems to have been considered sufficient by the Romans, as by other nations, to provide a deep ditch which would prevent their enemies from closing with them, and a rampart on the inside, from which point of vantage they could hurl down missiles on their foes if they attempted to cross the fosse. Greater skill in the use of missiles rendered it impossible, or at least very dangerous, for the defenders to expose themselves on the top of their walls; and, as I have just said, this doubtless led to the construction of towers round the earthworks, from the loop-holes of which the occupants could, in comparative safety, annoy the assailants, who were compelled to pass between them. Until comparatively modern times three of these towers existed in this Castle; one of them, known as Mortimer's Tower, stood near the entrance of those casemates under the modern rampart.

The second, or Valance's Tower, which, owing to its having been afterwards used as the garrison mill, was called the Mill Tower, was on the site now occupied by the officers' stables, and the remains of it disappeared

only in the present century. It is shown in the plans of the Castle of 1756 and 1794.

The third, or Clinton's Tower, was further round on the west side. There may have been other towers which totally disappeared during mediæval improvements, and were entirely forgotten, and possibly to these towers were attached the names of knights which were subsequently transferred to those of later construction. Then we come to the Norman system of fortifications, of which this Keep, on which we now stand, formed the principal feature. It has been assumed by most who have attempted a description of this Castle that the curtain walls and flanking towers, as you now see them from the cliff by Canon's Gate where you entered, up to Peverell's Tower and round to the Averanche's Tower, which I have just mentioned, and on to the cliff again, were the works of the early Norman conquerors.

Mr. Blashill has, however, given us his reasons for supposing that they are of later, that is to say, of Edwardian times; the knights' names having been perhaps transferred, as I have suggested; and I may point out to you presently an argument derived from the record of the Siege by the Dauphin of France in Henry II's reign, which seems strongly to support that view. These curtain walls and flanking towers formed the next step in the progress of the science of fortification. There seems little doubt but that this advance in the art was learnt by our Crusaders when they had seen at Byzantium and other cities of the later Roman Empire those scientifically constructed works which, at that time, were well known in the East. The chief point in the construction of such fortifications was to place the flanking towers at such intervals that the assailants of any one tower would at the same time be exposed to a cross-fire of arrows and stones from the towers on either side. Another characteristic of mediæval fortifications was the use of sally-ports and barbicans, from which to make sorties to annoy the besieging forces. At the Spur, where we shall presently go to show you some of the underground works, there was an arrangement of this nature, where a passage from the ditch branched off into three galleries, each defended by a gateway, and leading to towers which had again

their portcullises and drawbridges. The remains of these passages and gateways, although much altered by later improvements, will give you an idea of the plan on which these barbicans were constructed.

The next great step in fortification was necessitated by the introduction of artillery. It was some time after the new system had been introduced into Europe that it was brought into use at Dover by Henry VIII, who made considerable improvements in the fortifications at the foot of the Cliff, and erected batteries here, and also castles at Deal, Walmer, and Sandown. Comparatively little change, however, seems to have been made in the defences of this Castle from the time of the Edwards until the end of the last century, when Mr. Pitt seems to have obtained £50,000 to be spent in the strengthening of these fortifications. Great improvements were then made; advanced bastions and earthworks, of which you saw some in coming up from the town, and of which you see others on the eastern side of the Castle, were then added. The object with which these were constructed was in principle the same as that of the mediæval towers, that is to say, that the several parts of the fortifications should afford defence and protection to each other. The most recent improvement is the adoption of caponnières and other covered galleries from which to flank and defend the ditches. In the Spur to which we are now going, you will see these well exemplified, and I will endeavour to show how the modern caponnière has grown from what was originally only a covered passage and causeway across the ditch to give access to the barbican beyond.

In addition to these modern additions to this Castle, if you will look towards the north you will see Fort Burgoyne, which was constructed about twenty-six years ago, and which is a good example of nearly the most recent phase of the art of fortification, and in which you will see that this system of defending the ditches by caponnières is a very important feature. There the building no longer extends across the ditch as a covered passage, but is double-storied, and arranged so as to give a heavy fire from artillery and rifles along the ditch, while it is so placed as to be almost safe from the fire of a besieger's guns.

To return to the ancient structures, it is unfortunate



that from this historic spot so many remains which would have been of great interest to archæologists, have disappeared within quite recent times. For instance, just outside the Palace Gate, by which you entered the Keep Yard, stood the Well Tower and gate, containing the ancient well which was used for supplying the garrison before the present one was sunk. On the right was Harcourt's Tower, from which two parallel walls ran down to Peverell's Tower; part of these existed up to the close of last century, and you will see that from the loopholes in these walls the occupiers would have been able to assist in the defence of the inner lines of defences should the enemy have effected an entrance through the outer line, very much in the same way as caponnières are used in the defence of ditches. In that tower, close to where is now the coal-yard, was formerly a magazine of catapults, balistæ, and other forms of mediæval artillery, provided for the defence of the Castle. Just outside the Keep-Yard, near Averanche's Tower, was an old entrance called Godwin's Tower, through which Stephen de Pencester brought his four hundred horsemen to the relief of the Castle when besieged by the Dauphin of France. The long trench, or what we should now call the Sap, by which the Dauphin is said to have made his approach against the defences, is stated to have existed until recently, but is now covered by the earthen bastion which you will see to your left, just outside the Constable's Tower. I believe, myself, that traces of it still exist lower down the hill, and an earthwork of this sort is clearly shown in the old plans to which I have already referred. It is from the position of this trench, if it was indeed the work of the Dauphin, that I am able to strongly corroborate Mr. Blashill's view as to the non-existence of what are now called the Norman walls and towers of the outer line at the time of this siege. The earth thrown out of this trench would have formed a parapet on the side towards the sea that would cover the assaulting columns from the missiles of the defenders, between the Cliff and the Constable's Tower, if the outer line of towers had then existed; but from those to the north of the Constable's Tower, the garrison would have been able to look down the trench and to enfilade the besiegers from that point with a raking fire of missiles

which would have made it quite impossible for this line of approach to be used. You will see this more clearly when we move in that direction.

If, however, in Henry II's time the works occupied, as Mr. Blashill believes, only the line of the Keep Yard, the direction of the trench would, as we should expect, just have cleared the most salient angle, so that the defenders, when they got out to the furthestmost extremity of their battlements, would be just unable to throw down their missiles on the men in this trench; and if the outwork, the ruins of which you will see as you pass out through King's Gate, was thrown up by Stephen de Pencester to meet this emergency, it would have exactly answered the purpose for which it was required.

To describe even very briefly the many other points of interest connected with this fortress would occupy too much of your time, but I hope I have said enough to show you how it has grown from a simple earthwork, with perhaps a palisade at the top, to the same earthwork with the addition of detached towers standing round it; then to the mediæval walls with their flanking towers; afterwards to the earthen bastions to stand against artillery fire; and, lastly, to the deep ditches with sunken caponnières, such as you will see on the east side of the Castle, and still better in Fort Burgoyne. I would also point out to you how the whole of the defences of the position of Dover, including not only this hill but the heights opposite, is only an adaptation of principles which were well known even before the middle ages. That long line of ramparts on the opposite heights, from the Drop Redoubt up to the citadel, has in front of it the valley up which the Folkestone Road runs, which we may look upon as a gigantic ditch, and which, so long as it is swept by the fire from Fort Burgoyne, from this Castle, or from any batteries which may be placed between them, would be inaccessible to an attacking force, which must consequently be confined in its advance to the narrow neck of land stretching westward from the citadel in the direction of Folkestone; while on the east side of the Castle, the fire from the outwork called the East Wing Battery, sweeps the hollow ground to the edge of the Cliff.

## THE CROSSES AT ILKLEY.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

*(Read January 2, 1884)*

ILKLEY, the well known health-resort in Yorkshire, near Leeds, is situated in the valley of the Wharfe, and occupies the site of the Roman *Olicana*. The crosses which form the subject of the present paper stand erect in the old churchyard on the south side of the parish church; and in spite of the ravages of time, and the Vandalism of the last century, they still remain to bear witness to the existence of an early Christian settlement on this spot. The church is close to the banks of the river Wharfe, and actually stands within the enclosure of the Roman fortifications. In the inside of the tower, near the base, is built into the masonry of the walls a piece of Roman sculpture representing a human figure holding a serpent in each hand, which has been described by Camden and others.

In passing, it may be remarked that there are a large number of churches in England built inside British<sup>1</sup> and Roman earthworks, and that it is very desirable that some one conversant with this particular branch of archæology should devote a paper exclusively to describing such buildings and their surroundings.

All that remain of the three crosses in Ilkley churchyard are the shafts, which are now securely fixed in a stone base. That there existed heads to them at one time is certain, as the sockets into which they were fitted can still be seen. During the restoration, some years ago, several broken pieces of crosses were found, four of which are preserved within the church, and a fifth has been removed to the Calvary at Middleton Hall. A sixth fragment was found in pulling down some cottages opposite the church; but I do not know what has become of it. Altogether, then, there are three shafts of crosses erect in the churchyard, two fragments of heads of crosses,

<sup>1</sup> For example, that at Coldred, near Dover, visited during the Dover Congress last year.

and four fragments of shafts of crosses, found at different times. These will be described in detail; but before doing so it may be well to mention some notices that have already appeared of these remarkable monuments.

The earliest mention of them is, I believe, in Camden's *Britannia*. That learned author evidently thought these stones were Roman, as will be seen from the following quotation: "That it (Ilkley) was an ancient town appears from the pillars of Roman work in the churchyard and elsewhere."<sup>1</sup> Gough, in his additions to Camden, written at the beginning of this century, says, "In Ilkley churchyard is a rude cross, 2 feet 7 inches high, and 13 inches wide, ornamented on two sides with reliefs of saints, and the other two with foliage. Two others lie at the south gate and the south-west corner of the churchyard."<sup>2</sup> This description seems to apply to the three stones still erect; but the height given, viz., 2 feet 7 inches, is too small for any of them, and more especially for the centre cross, which is the tallest of all; but has reliefs of saints and foliage upon it, as specified.

In Leland's *Itinerary*, although crosses at Ripon,<sup>3</sup> which have since disappeared, are referred to, no mention is made of the stones at Ilkley. In Hearne's edition of Leland (1745), however, a letter appears to the editor from Dr. R. Richardson, a physician, of North Brierly, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which gives the following particulars: "Ilkley is now a very mean place, and chiefly famous for a cold well which has done very remarkable cures in scrophulous cases by bathing in and drinking of it. The last shows it to be a vitriol-like water, tho' I have made no further tryal of it. The stones Mr. Camden observed in the churchyard are now broken down and much defaced, tho' some fragments of them still remain in the adjoining walls; and upon one is placed a dyal, on the west side of which is an human figure (tho' much injured by time) with a glory about its head, which shows these monuments not to be of that antiquity Mr. Camden makes them, and not to claim a farther date than that of Christianity in Britain. Perhaps this might have been the tutelar saint of the place; but I take them

<sup>1</sup> Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne's *Leland*, vol. i, p. 90.



to be of the same kind, and erected upon the same account, as those Dr. Plot has observed in like places in Staffordshire."<sup>1</sup>

In the twentieth volume of the *Journal* of this Association is a paper by Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, entitled "The Monumental Crosses at Ilkley and Collingham", from which I extract the following: "The crosses at Ilkley are, perhaps, as ancient, or nearly so, as those at Collingham; but unfortunately we have as yet less assistance in tracing their history. They have not been treated respectfully, for two of them were used but a few years ago as gate-posts to the churchyard. The most perfect has long been erect in the middle of the churchyard. The basement-stone on which it stands is buried under the ground, and if it were uncovered would probably be found to bear a Runic inscription similar in character to that discovered at Collingham."<sup>2</sup>

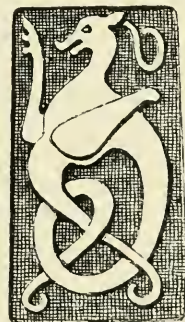
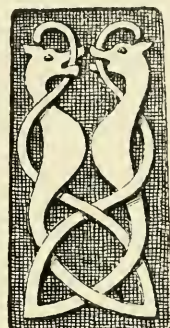
Since the above was written, the old base of the central cross has been removed, and the whole of the lower part exposed to view. Mr. Pettigrew's hope that a Runic inscription might exist upon the hidden portion has unfortunately not been realised. The old base, as shown on the plate which illustrates Mr. Pettigrew's paper, and also on a sketch in Phillips' *Yorkshire*,<sup>3</sup> consisted of two circular steps reaching to a height of 3 feet 2 inches above the present base, making the old height 5 feet 2 inches instead of 8 feet 4 inches as at present. The lower part, which has been so long buried, has thus been protected from the weather, and is in much better preservation than the rest of the stone, which is sadly defaced. At the time the sketch in Phillips' *Yorkshire* was made, the two other crosses seem to have been simply stuck in the ground on each side of the centre one. All three crosses are now firmly morticed into a stone base 8 feet 10 inches long by 2 feet 6 inches wide. The crosses are ranged in a line running east and west, and are placed 2 feet apart from each other. An illustration of the crosses in their

<sup>1</sup> Leland's *Itinerary*, 2nd ed., by Thomas Hearne, vol. i, p. 144. See also Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686), p. 432, where the "Danish pyramidal stones" at Leek, Draycot, Chebsey, and Checkley, are described.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xx, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> *Rivers, Mountains, and Sea-Coast of Yorkshire*, by J. Phillips, 2nd ed., 1855, Pl. 17.





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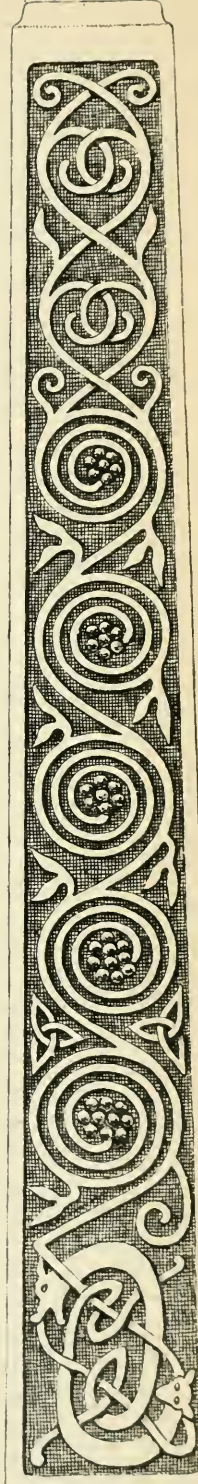
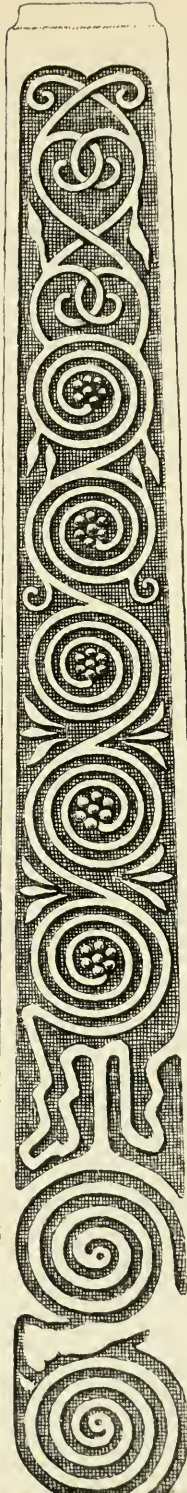
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present state is given in the annual volume of the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society for 1864, sketched by Mr. R. Tyrer, and also a woodcut, taken from a photograph, in Morant's edition of Whitaker's *Craven*.

The following is a detailed description of the three crosses and six fragments, shown on the accompanying drawings (see Plate), which have been made to scale from rubbings, sketches, and photographs.

*The Centre Cross* is a monolith of millstone grit, 8 feet 4 inches high, and measures 1 foot 4 inches by 1 foot 2 inches at the base, tapering to 11 inches square at the top. This cross is the largest and most important of the three, and is perfect, with the exception of the head, which has disappeared. The four sides are sculptured thus:—

*The North Side* is divided into four panels by plain horizontal bands,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, and a roll moulding runs up the four corners of the stone. The top and bottom panels are 2 feet high, and the two middle panels 1 foot 9 inches high. The panels contain three-quarter length draped figures, each holding a book in the hand. The bodies are those of human beings, but the heads are those of the man, bird, and beasts, which symbolise the four Evangelists, in every case surrounded by a nimbus. The figures are arranged in the following order, commencing from the bottom, namely—1. St. Matthew (the Man); 2. St. Mark (the Lion); 3. St. Luke (the Bull); 4. St. John (the Eagle). This method of representing the Evangelists by composite figures, having human bodies and beasts' heads within a glory, does not appear to be common, although Miss Louisa Twining gives two other examples in her *Symbols and Emblems of Early Christian and Mediæval Art*;<sup>1</sup> one from an eighth century MS., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and another from the Bible of William Rufus, in the library of Winchester Cathedral. In the catacombs at Rome the Evangelists are symbolised by four scrolls. In later times the scrolls are unfolded and held in the claws of the four beasts.

*The South Side* is divided into four panels, exactly

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 94 and 106.



corresponding in height with those on the north side. The top panel contains a three-quarters draped figure holding a pastoral staff, with a crooked head, in the left hand, and having a glory round the head. This is probably intended to represent the Saviour. The three lower panels contain animal forms very much conventionalised, and with the different parts of their bodies twisted and interlaced in a variety of ways. The uppermost of these three panels has sculptured upon it two monsters, placed symmetrically facing each other, each biting his own tail, which is interlaced below with that of his neighbour. Neither of these monsters has any limbs or wings, and therefore they more resemble reptiles than animals. The next panel has upon it a winged beast, holding up one paw and sitting upon his tail, which is twisted in an S-shaped curve round the other leg. The bottom panel shows a beast standing on his hind legs with uplifted paw, and with his tail twisted round under the belly, behind the back, and round the neck.

The meaning of the animal forms, which are of such constant occurrence upon Christian monuments of the type we are now dealing with, has yet to be explained. This can only be done by systematically arranging and classifying all the different kinds of conventional beasts, and comparing them with the illustrations given in the *Bestiaires* and other MSS. of the Middle Ages. Some dragonesque forms are obviously merely ornamental, and these are generally developed out of purely geometrical patterns, such as spirals and interlaced work. Others, again, either by their attitude or special peculiarities of appearance, are intended to symbolise something. When represented, as at Ilkley, below the figure of the Saviour, it may be intended to indicate the triumph of Christ over the brute creation. In support of this view we have upon the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire the figure of Our Lord trampling upon two swine, and with an inscription taken from the apocryphal Gospel of the Nativity, which reads, *IH'S XP'S IVDIX AEQUITATIS SERTO SALVATOREM MVNDI BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERVNT IN DESERTO*—"Jesus Christ the Judge of Righteousness; beasts and dragons knew the Saviour of the world in the

desert, and came and worshipped Him."<sup>1</sup> Again, in Westwood's *Miniatures of Irish Art*,<sup>2</sup> is illustrated an ivory diptych of the eighth or ninth century, belonging to the Church of St. Martin Genoels in Belgium, which has carved upon it the Saviour trampling on the lion and dragon, and inscribed + UBI D'NS AMBULAVIT SUPER ASPIDEM ET BASILICUM CONCULCAB'T LEONE' ET DRACONEM. On the Ilkley crosses, the beast with uplifted paw occurs three times in the case of a single animal, and twice in the case of pairs of animals. The Rev. G. F. Browne considers that this is intended to indicate an attitude of submission. It appears to me that it might equally stand for one of defiance.

*The East Side* is not arranged in panels. At the base are two right and left-handed spirals, of three twists each, which may either be simply geometrical ornaments or the tails of serpents; it is difficult to say which, on account of the weathering of the stone. Above the upper spiral is a straight stem with waved branches on each side, gradually developing into elegant conventional foliage, which fills up the remainder of the shaft, curving round into graceful scrolls, and terminating in bunches of fruit and leaves.

*The West Side* resembles the east in general design. At the base are two dragonesque animals with interlaced tails; and above, foliage similar to that on the east side. Two of the triangular spaces, formed between the spiral curves of the foliage and the straight edge of the stone, are filled in with the symbolical three-cornered knot, known as the triquetra.

*The Eastern Cross* has suffered most shameful ill-treatment, having been used for many years as a gatepost in the churchyard wall, the leaded holes for hanging the gate being still visible. The dimensions of the mutilated shaft, which is all that now remains of what must have once been a most exquisitely beautiful cross, are as follows:—height, 5 feet 5 inches; size at base, 1 foot by 1 foot 1 inch, tapering to 9½ inches square at the top. The stone of which the shaft is composed is millstone-grit. The carving is much more delicate than that on

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Series, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> P. 150.



the other crosses, and both the design and workmanship are of the highest excellence, which makes it all the greater pity that it has been so wilfully defaced. The angles of the stone are ornamented with a cable moulding, and the four sides are sculptured thus :—

*The North Side*, with the exception of the bottom 15 inches, which remains intact, has been entirely cut away to a depth of 2 inches, when the stone was used as a gatepost, so as to allow the gate to swing freely. The carving which remains shows portions of two panels; the lower one containing a monster biting his tail, which is twisted spirally round his body; and the upper one, the base of a conventional tree.

*The South Side* is much worn away at the top, and the remainder is divided by plain bands,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, into four panels, averaging 1 foot high each. The three upper panels contain pairs of conventional animals placed symmetrically, standing on their hind legs facing each other, with open mouths and tails intertwined. The bottom panel contains winged dragons in pairs on each side of the stem of a conventional tree, whose branches curve round their bodies.<sup>1</sup>

*The East and West Sides* are ornamented with conventional scrollwork foliage of great beauty. The lower part of the east side has apparently been placed against the wall, when the stone was used as a gatepost, and the carving thus protected from injury, being almost as sharp now as when it was first cut.

*The Western Cross* has now only the upper portion of the shaft, which is of grit-stone, remaining. It is 4 feet 6 inches high, and measures 1 foot 1 inch by 1 foot at the base, tapering to 11 inches square at the top. The mortice hole for fixing on the head may still be seen. The four sides are sculptured as follows :—

*The North Side* appears to have had carved on it representations of conventional animals, now almost entirely defaced. Enough, however, remains to show that there were two complete panels, and a portion of a third one.

<sup>1</sup> Compare with similar figures on the base of the Walton Cross, on Hartshead Moor, Yorkshire (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Inst.*, vol. v, p. 63); also with bronze bowl from Ormside, Westmoreland, in the York Museum.

The height of the top panel is 1 foot 6 inches, and the lower one, 2 feet 6 inches.

*The South Side* is divided into three panels by horizontal bands, ornamented with rows of circular hollows. The upper panel is 10 inches high, the middle one 1 foot 9 inches high, and the bottom one incomplete. The sculpture of the upper panel is much obliterated, but appears to have consisted of animal forms. The middle and bottom panels contain conventional beasts, with twisted and interlaced tails.

*The East Side* is divided into two panels by a horizontal band, 3 inches wide, ornamented with incised lines and dots. The upper panel is 2 feet 2 inches high, and the lower one, 2 feet 1 inch high; the former containing a grotesque animal with knotted tail; and the latter a human figure, draped, and holding a book; his hair is represented in a very conventional manner, having somewhat the appearance of a wig, curling down on each side of the head. The animal forms on this cross are shown in two cases with their heads in profile, and in the other three instances with a full-face view.

*Fragment A* is the lower portion of the broken shaft of a cross, and measures 1 foot 5 inches long by 9 inches wide by 6 inches thick. The bottom<sup>1</sup> is dressed so as to form a tenon to fit into a morticed base. The back is entirely defaced. The front is ornamented with scrollwork foliage, and the two sides with knotwork. The patterns on the sides are numbered 87 and 129 respectively in my classified list of Celtic interlaced work.<sup>2</sup> The former is not uncommon, and occurs also on stones at Jordan Hill, Kirriemuir, Jedburgh, Scoonie, and Inchbrayock, in Scotland; at Jarrow, Aycliffe, and Billingham, in the county of Durham; and at Llandough in Glamorganshire. The latter, although rarer, is to be found at Thornhill in Scotland, and on the south-east cross at Monasterboice in Ireland. The angles of the shaft have a cable moulding.

*Fragment B* is the upper portion of the broken shaft of

<sup>1</sup> The stone is shown with the wrong end upwards in the drawing, as it did not occur to me at the time that this end was not the top. I am indebted to the Rev. G. F. Browne for this correction, and also for pointing out that fragments A and B are both parts of the same cross.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, pp. 243 and 252.

the same cross, of which fragment A is the lower part, as it will be noticed that the patterns on the different faces correspond. The stone measures 1 foot 4 inches long, by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. The back is defaced, and a cable moulding runs round the edges. The front has scroll-work foliage upon it, and the sides knotwork, which are both continuations of similar ornaments on fragment A. Part of the head of this cross still remains, and the rounded hollows where it commences are decorated with star-shaped diapers enclosed in a cable moulding. At the top of one of the sides are traces of a key-pattern.

*Fragment C* is a small portion of one of the limbs of the head of a cross, which has been broken. It measures 1 foot by 11 inches, and is 5 inches thick. The back is defaced, and the front has a conventional beast upon it. The edges are ornamented with plaitwork, and a cable moulding runs round the whole.

*Fragment D* is the lower part of the broken shaft of a cross. It is 1 foot 7 inches long by 10 inches wide, and is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. The bottom<sup>1</sup> is formed into a tenon, to be morticed into a base, as in the case of fragment A. All the sides are defaced except one, which has conventional foliage carved on it.

*Fragment E* is the head of a cross, with two of the arms broken off. It is 2 feet long by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. The cross is of the usual Celtic shape, with the four rounded hollows of the angles formed by the intersections of the arms. On the front is a central hemispherical boss, surrounded by three concentric rings, and on the two arms are figures of conventional animals. The back is much defaced, and all that can be made out of the design is a central boss, surrounded by a single ring and traces of interlacements on the arms.

*Fragment F* is the broken portion of the shaft of a cross. It is thus described by Mr. Morant in his edition of Whitaker's *Craven*:<sup>2</sup> "In the year 1868 a fragment of another cross of this period was found on removing the foundations of some old cottages nearly opposite the church. It has on the upper portion of one side a human

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is shown the wrong way up in the drawing, by mistake, as in the case of fragment A.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker's *Craven*, 3rd ed., p. 285.

ILKLEY - YORKSHIRE.

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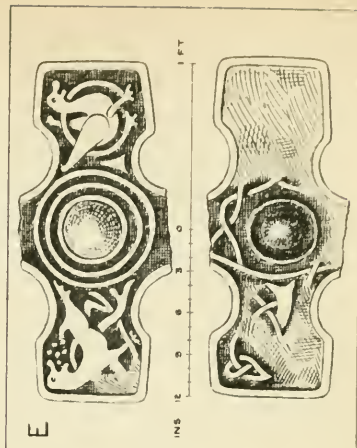
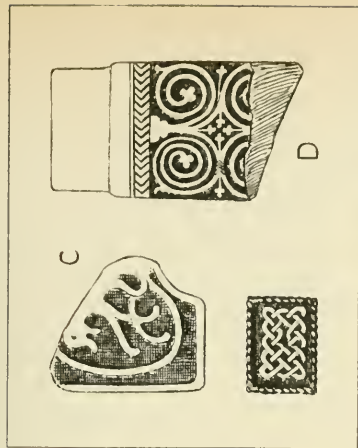
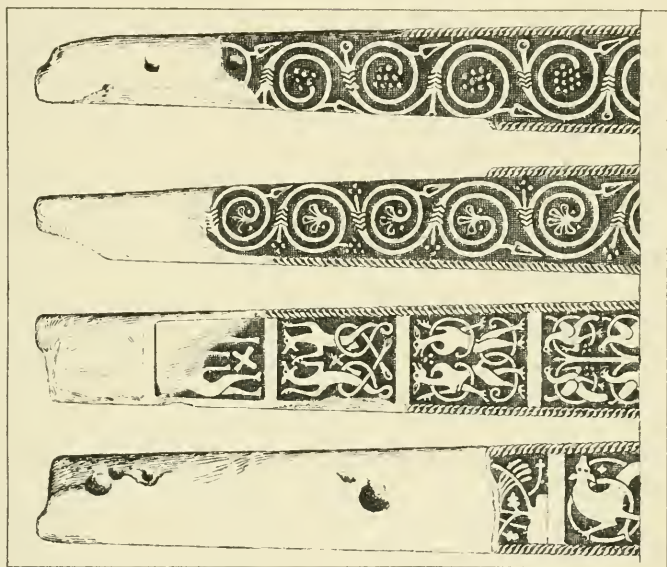






figure with hands raised, in the act of prayer. The other sides bear the usual scroll-work ornamentation". I do not know where this fragment is at present. Stones A, B, C, and D are preserved inside Ilkley Church, and E is in the calvary at Middleton Hall, near Ilkley. Besides these portions of crosses, there is in the vestry of Ilkley Church part of the stone lid of a coffin, 1 foot 8 inches long by 1 foot 4 inches wide, and 8 inches thick. It has incised on its upper surface a plain Latin cross, and a double line round the edge. The other part of this coffin-lid, 3 feet 7 inches long, is built into the wall of the church next the vestry door on the west side.

This concludes the technical description of the crosses and fragments at Ilkley, and the remainder of the paper deals with the question of their age and the consideration of the means which should be adopted for the better preservation of similar monuments throughout the country.

*Age of the Ilkley Crosses.*—Dr. Anderson has pointed out, in his *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, that in the absence of direct historical evidence about any particular monument, unless it bears an inscription, it is impossible to determine its date; and that, furthermore, it lies outside the province of the archæologist to do so.<sup>1</sup> Even when the monument is inscribed, unless an actual date is mentioned, the process of ascertaining its age must be an indirect one, and necessitates finally a reference to history. It is the duty of the archæologist—(1), to decide the type to which any particular monument belongs by comparing it with the others; (2), to classify all the specimens of one type, and thus ascertain their order of succession as regards development; (3), to determine the geographical area over which the type is spread, and the centre from which it sprang; (4), to register all the associated facts connected with the monument. His labour is then ended, and it remains for the historian to say whether there exists any printed or written record either about the monument itself or about persons or events mentioned in the inscription itself, when there is one. The palæographer can also throw additional light on the age of the inscribed characters; and the student of language is often able to point out archaic, linguistic forms which help to fix the date approximately.

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 1st Series, p. 20.

If by the means indicated several specimens belonging to one type can be dated, its duration may be determined.

The constructional skill shown in the erection, or the art-characteristics exhibited in the design of monuments, enable them to be classified and arranged in an ascending or descending series, according to their development or degradation. A particular style of art often lasts for many centuries ; but it generally varies, being confined to simple forms and rude methods of execution at first, and gradually approaching a period of maximum excellence, after which degradation sets in, accompanied generally by an exaggeration of the ornamental features and carelessness of workmanship, until at last extinction takes place, and a new style of art arises to go through the same phases as that which preceded it. Thus, in the case of sculptured monuments such as the Ilkley crosses, we are able to make a nearer approximation to their age than by knowing the duration of the type to which they belong, for the art-characteristics enable us to say whether at the time of their erection the type was tending towards perfection, or had reached its highest stage, or was gradually falling to decay.

Now to apply the foregoing principles to the case in point. With regard to the Ilkley crosses we possess no historical evidence concerning them earlier than the time of Camden, and there are no inscriptions to guide us. It is, therefore, the form of the crosses and the character of the sculpture that must enable us to ascertain the type to which they belong. The two primary divisions into which all monuments existing in this country may be divided are pagan and Christian. It is to the latter class that the Ilkley stones unquestionably belong: (1), because they are crosses ; (2), because the figure-subjects carved upon them are Christian ; (3), because they occupy a prominent position in a Christian churchyard, such as would not be accorded to any relics of paganism.

In order to settle the special type of Christian monument to which the Ilkley stones belong, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the whole series of such remains for the sake of comparison. It will be found convenient to divide the Christian monuments of this country into three periods, as regards the time of their erection, namely :

1. *Early Christian*.—From the landing of St. Augustine to the Norman conquest (597-1066).

2. *Late Christian*.—From the Norman conquest to the Reformation (1066-1500).

3. *Protestant*.—From the Reformation to the present time (1500-1883).

The Ilkley crosses, as will be shown subsequently, belong to the first of these periods, namely, the one which I have termed early Christian ; and it is, therefore, with this period alone that it will be necessary to deal. The sculptured stones of the early Christian or pre-Norman period may be classified as follows :

1. *Pillar Stones*—rough, unhewn monoliths, erect, with incised crosses, sometimes accompanied by an inscription in debased Latin capitals or oghams.

2. *Interlaced Crosses*—stones carefully carved into the shape of a cross placed erect on a base, sculptured in relief with interlaced work and other ornament, generally arranged in panels, sometimes accompanied by an inscription in Irish minuscules, Saxon uncials, or Scandinavian runes.

3. *Cross Slabs*—flat rectangular stones with cross, incised or in relief, sometimes inscribed and ornamented in a similar manner to the interlaced crosses.

4. *Coped Tombstones*, generally hog-backed, with a ridge up the middle, and the sides covered with scales.

5. *Stone Coffin-Lids* with crosses and interlaced work.

6. *Slabs with Interlaced Work*, used in the construction of churches, for the jambs of arches, etc.

The rude pillar stones of class 1 are the earliest memorials of Christianity which exist in this country, and belong to the period when paganism was being superseded by the new faith. They are most common in Ireland,<sup>1</sup> where there are a considerable number. In Wales<sup>2</sup> there are 107 ; in Scotland, 5 ; and in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall,<sup>3</sup> 30. In England they are found nowhere, except in the Western Counties just mentioned. Their geographical distribution shows them to be clearly of Celtic origin, having spread from Ireland as a centre.

The leading characteristics of this class of monument

<sup>1</sup> Rolt Brash's *Monuments of the Gaedhach*.

<sup>2</sup> Westwood's *Lapidarium Wallie*.

<sup>3</sup> Hübner's *Christian Inscriptions*

are (1) the stone being used in its natural state, without any attempt at dressing or squaring; (2) the absence of any ornament; (3) that the cross is incised and of the simplest form, generally consisting of either two lines crossing at right angles, or circle, enclosing a cross; (4) that the inscription is in debased Latin capitals, with the formula "Hic jacet", or in the Celtic language in ogham characters.

The actual date of the erection of these monuments has not been ascertained, for although they almost all have inscriptions upon them containing proper names, there are none of these names to be found in history. That these rude pillar stones belong to the transition between paganism and Christianity is, however, almost certain, as they are only found either in connection with semi-pagan remains, or upon the earliest Christian sites. The absence of dressing or ornament, the presence of the formula "Hic jacet", which occurs on Christian inscriptions in the catacombs at Rome, and the archaic forms of the language, the names, and the lettering, all tend to show that the pillar stones are older than the interlaced crosses, which I have placed in class 2, and the age of some of which we are able to fix with tolerable certainty, as will be seen subsequently.

I have called the second class of early Christian monuments interlaced crosses, because the leading feature in the ornament is a variety of patterns formed of interlacing bands or cords. The characteristics of this class are entirely different from those of the rude pillar stones, and are as follows: namely, (1) that the stone is carefully dressed and cut out into the shape of a cross, and often fixed in a stone socket; (2) that there is a profusion of ornament of a kind described hereafter, generally arranged in panels enclosed in a bead or cable moulding; (3) that the formulæ of the inscriptions are more varied, and generally being to the effect that "A erected this cross to B. Pray for his soul"; (4) that the language and lettering vary with the locality: the languages being either Latin, Celtic, or Scandinavian, and the letters Irish minuscules and uncials (similar to those of the MSS. of the same period), or the Runic letters of Northern Europe. The cross slabs, coped tombstones, coffin-lids,



and slabs of classes 4, 5, and 6, have ornamentation and inscriptions alike in character to that of the interlaced crosses, and therefore they are presumably of the same age.

The Ilkley crosses have no inscriptions, but the nature of the sculptured ornamentation shows that they belong to class 2 of the early Christian monuments.

The ornament on crosses of this type may be classified as follows :—

*Pure geometrical ornament :*

1. Interlaced ornament.
2. Key patterns.
3. Spiral ornament.

*Geometrical ornament developed into animal and leafy shapes :*

4. Conventional animals with intertwined bodies, limbs, and tails.
5. Conventional foliage in scrollwork form.

*Pictorial representations :*

6. Figures of human beings.
7. Figures of animals.
8. Figures of objects.
9. Figures of ideal forms.
10. Symbols.

Analysing the sculpture of the Ilkley stones upon the above basis, we find interlaced ornament upon fragments A, B, C, and F; key-patterns, a trace on fragment B; spiral ornament on the east side of centre cross; conventional animals with intertwined bodies, limbs, and tails, on the south and west sides of centre cross, north and south sides of east cross, all four sides of west cross, and on fragments C and E; conventional foliage in scrollwork form on the east and west sides of centre cross, east and west sides of east cross, and fragments of A, B, and D; figures of human beings (saints) on south side of centre cross; east side of west cross, and on fragment of F; figures of animals and objects pictorially represented, nowhere; figures of ideal forms representing the four Evangelists on the north side of centre cross; symbols,—the triquetra-knot, which is supposed to be the emblem of the Trinity, on the west face of centre cross.



On comparing the Ilkley crosses with other monuments of the same kind, it would appear from the foregoing analysis of the ornament that they belong to the period when this peculiar style of decoration was very highly developed, and perhaps even beginning to become debased. Animal and leafy forms are seen to predominate over the purer geometrical designs<sup>1</sup> with which the type commenced, and out of which they were probably developed; and figure-sculpture, representing Scripture characters or scenes, are beginning to make their appearance. These are generally supposed to be the characteristics of the latter portion of the period to which the type belongs.

The whole time during which monuments of this class were erected, extends from about A.D. 650 to 1150, there having been survivals in remote parts of the country after the Norman conquest.

We shall now proceed to examine the evidence which exists for determining the date of crosses with interlaced work upon them. The species of ornamentation with which these monuments are adorned, consisting mainly of knot-work, key-patterns, and spirals, is essentially Celtic, and reached its highest development in Ireland, spreading thence to other parts of Great Britain. It is found not only on sculptured stones, but also in illuminated manuscripts; on metal-work, such as bell-shrines, croziers, book-covers, penannular brooches; and on a few miscellaneous articles of bone and wood. It is probable that all the objects exhibiting this peculiar style of decoration belong to the same period. Dr. Anderson has suggested that Celtic ornament originated in the manuscripts, and was subsequently adapted to sculptured stonework and highly wrought metalwork.<sup>2</sup> There is every reason to believe that this is the case. The dated specimens of stonework are usually later than the manuscripts, and the metalwork later than either.

In the second part of this paper I give a list of the manuscripts containing Celtic ornament, together with the historical evidence as to their dates.

<sup>1</sup> This may be due, perhaps, to difference of locality instead of difference of time. Foliage is much more common in the Northumbrian area than elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd Ser., p. 109.

## THE CASTLES OF SANDOWN AND SANDGATE.

BY PROFESSOR T. HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A.

*(Read August 1883.)*

THESE castles, as well as those of Deal, Walmer, etc., built at about the same time, are of small size compared with those of earlier times, and may be considered as the forerunners of, but much larger and more picturesque than, the martello towers erected on the same line of coast at the beginning of this century (1806-7, etc.); and they form also a link between the grand old castles of mediæval times and the low-lying fortifications of the present. Their solidity of construction, unsurpassed (so far as I call to mind) at any time, did not interfere with a careful attention to artistic design in their details, and they should not be allowed to be destroyed without a better record of them than I can give in this short paper.

The Castle of Sandown has a special interest to archaeologists now, inasmuch as the carefully constructed ash-lining of its walls was deliberately stripped off last year, and the remains left for time to do its work on them. The upper part and embrasures had been pulled down in 1863, and their design could not be known from what remains. Very fortunately, however, a drawing of it, in its nearly perfect state in 1735, is given in Buck's *Antiquities*, and I have an enlarged though rough copy of it. From comparing it with the remains now to be seen, I have little doubt that it is fairly correct, except that for the purpose of showing the full height of the outer bastions, the great depth of the moat has been ignored; thus taking the height as if almost from the level of the land around, in place of some 20 feet deeper, viz., to the bottom of the moat.

I have been fortunate enough also to find in "The King's Collection of Maps and Drawings", in the British Museum", a plan of the Castle of the same date as Buck's elevation. I show a copy of it, coloured red. I was un-

aware of the existence of this Collection until it was suggested to me by Mr. Wyatt Papworth, to whom, with Mr. S. W. Kershaw, I am indebted for other suggestions.

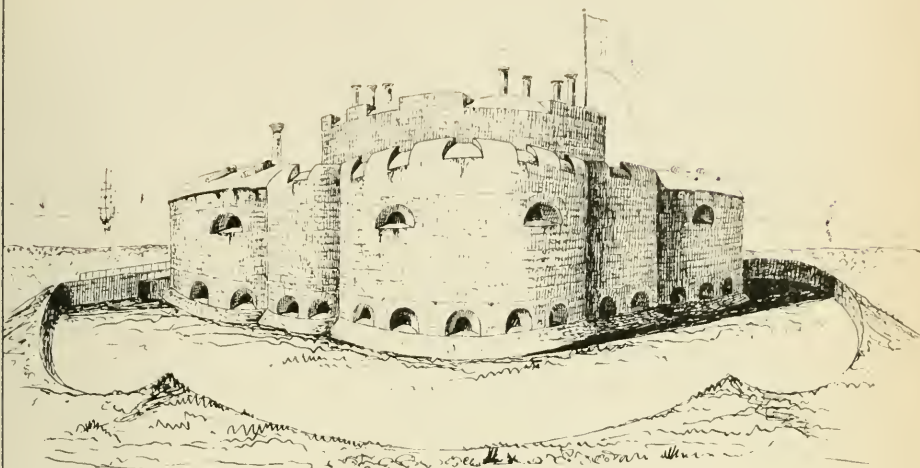
Mr. Buck describes the Castle as a "fabric of very thick stone, arched work, with several portholes for great guns. In the middle is a noble round tower having underneath it an arch'd cavern, bomb-proof. The whole structure is surrounded by a foss or trench," etc., etc. This Castle and Sandgate are of about the same size (exclusive of Sandown moat), as each could be enclosed within a square of 180.0. The central tower of Sandown was about 84 feet diameter; that of Sandgate was much smaller.

Perhaps the clearest description of Sandown in its perfect state is given in Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. viii, p. 1017: "This fortress consists of an immense round tower in the centre, connected with four semicircular outworks or lunettes, the whole being surrounded by a deep fosse, with additional defences or batteries opposite to the sea. The entrance is by a drawbridge on the land side. The upper part of the centre tower contains a spacious cistern for water, below which is a large vaulted apartment, bomb-proof, for the garrison."

The history of the Kentish coast castles is well known, and their origin is, no doubt, recorded in an Act of Parliament, *an.* 4, Henry VIII, cap. 1 (A.D. 1512), viz., "An Act for making of Bulwarkes and Fortresses in Cornwall and other Places on the Sea-Side."<sup>1</sup> They are also distinctly referred to in 32nd Henry VIII, cap. 48 (A.D. 1540):<sup>2</sup> "And where our Souverain Lord the King, by his exceeding great costes & charges, hath lately buylded & made nye unto the sea divers castellis, blockhouses, bullwarkes, & other houses & places of great defence, within the lymittes of the Fyve Portis & their membres, or between the same, in the shires of Kent and Sussex," etc. This would seem to show that the castles were completed before the date of the Act, viz., 1540; and they were so according to the date ordinarily given, viz., 1539. Hasted, p. 165, quotes this latter date: "Henry 8 in 1539 built for the defence of this coast 3 seuerall castles not far from each other, viz., Walmer, Deal, and Sandown", etc.

<sup>1</sup> Reestall, p. 52.

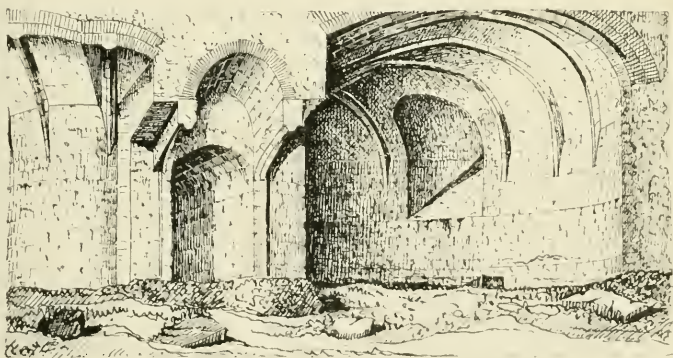
<sup>2</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iii.



1735

SANDOWN CASTLE.

1882







Both Leland (a contemporary writer) and Lambarde shortly afterwards notice these castles, but give no details as to their erection. But the precise date of the erection of Sandgate appears from the building accounts of it in the Harleian MSS. These have, I imagine, been already published; but I have not been fortunate enough to meet with them in print, so I give a few extracts on the chance of their being new to many of our members. Their beginning is noted thus: "Masons laying stones for *the foundation* & buyldynge of the foresaid Castell at Sandgate." The completion is noted as being 2 October, 32nd Henry VIII (1540), "when the said Castell was *fully finished & completed*." The accounts are thus headed (No. 1647): "The 1, 2, &c., to 9. Monthly Boke of the workes of the King's Castel at Sandgate in the Tyme of Thomas Cockes & Rychard Keye, Esq., Commissioners", viz., from 30th day of March of 31 Henry VIII (A.D. 1539) to 7 December following; also from 7 December 1539 to 2 October 1540. No. 1651. The 10th, 11th, etc., to 19th, "in tyme of Reynold Scott, Esq., beyng *surveyour* thereof, & Richard Keys, Esq., then beyng sole paymaster of the said workes."

Payments are, amongst others, recorded to "John Lambert, clerk of the Check, 8*d.* per day; Wyll'm Baker, overseer of the masons, 6*d.*; Symond Stone, clerk of the storehouse, 6*d.*; Thos. Elgar, Purveyor, 1*s.*; fee of Sir Reynolds Scott, Knight, Comptroller of the said work, 3*s.* 4*d.*" Stephanus de Hashenperg appears to have been master of the works; and Mr. Papworth sends me a memorandum of having found that a person of that name (otherwise written Steven von Hassenperg) was master of the works at Carlisle, 1541, on fortifications for the defence of the Border, executed by him and T. Gover. He was then paid 4*s.* per day.

Of this Castle of Sandgate the greater part still remains, although thoroughly restored and modernised (an expression which may be applied to other works than those at Sandgate) in 1805. I subjoin a plan of it, coloured blue, partly made from the existing remains, and partly from an old plan, made before any house near it was built, in the British Museum, dated 1725. The plan is very peculiar, and the lower part is perfect; but all except the

central tower is now level with the ground, whereas a perspective view dated 1735, also in the Museum, seems to show that the three circular towers were carried up to a considerable height, and had a high curtain-wall between them, forming a fine mass. I am sorry that I had not time to make a copy of this drawing for the Congress, as I was obliged to leave London.

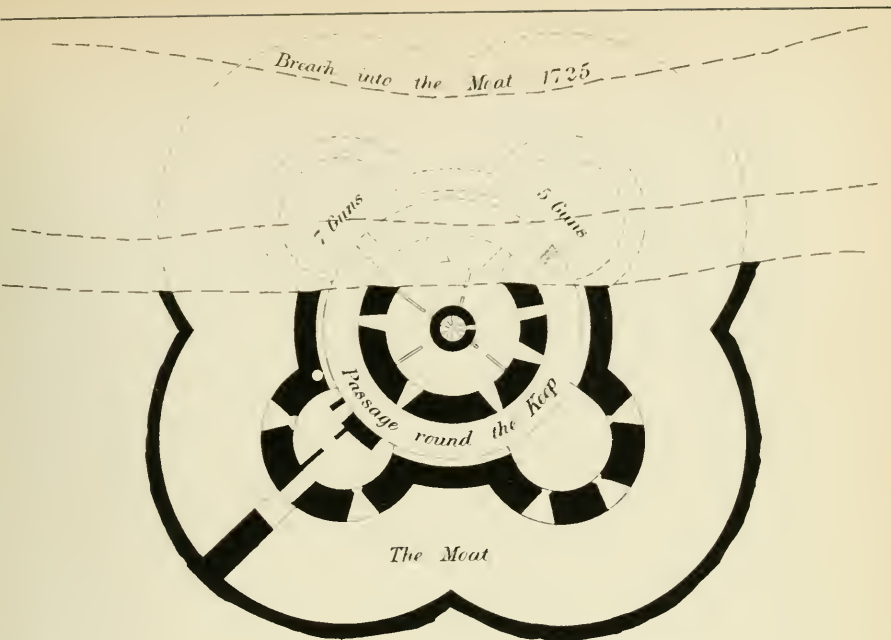
The subsequent history of these structures is very meagre. Queen Elizabeth is said to have been lodged in Sandown and Sandgate Castles in 1588. There is a memorandum in the Report of the Royal Commissioners on Historical MSS., vol. vii, pp. 253-6, that in 1603 there was a letter from Mr. W. Byng to Mr. Willis at Chelsea, on the state of Deal Castle, in which he states that the sea has taken away the beach, and eaten into the foundation. In 1614<sup>1</sup> a memorandum is given of £61 : 5 : 4, "part of the money received by Sir Robert Pratt of the Ex'ors of the late Earl of Northampton for the repaire of Deal Castle." In 1642<sup>2</sup> Walmer, Sandown, Dover, and Deal, surrendered to the Parliament; and in 1663 we have the well known description of the imprisonment in it of Colonel Hutchinson. Murray's *Guide to Kent* gives extracts relating to the Castle from Mrs. Hutchinson's Life of her husband; but the annexed is more to my present purpose: "When he came to the Castle he found it a lamentable, ruined place. There were not above half a dozen soldiers in it, and a poore lieutenant with his wife and children, and 2 or 3 cannoners, and a few guns, almost dismantled, upon rotten carriages. Every tide washed the foote of the Castle walls. The walls 4 yards thick, yet it rained thro' cracks in them." These statements must be taken with some reservation if the fact be, as seems to be proved, that he did not die until nearly a year after the time mentioned by his wife.

The following account by Hasted seems to give a different account of the importance of the place twenty years after the above:<sup>3</sup> "The establishment and pay of the garrison of this Castle in 1682 was a captain at £20 a year, and 20*d.* a day; a lieutenant, £12 per ann.; upper and under porters, and eight gunners. In all, £156:17:4 per ann." I find no further mention of importance until

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v, p. 409.

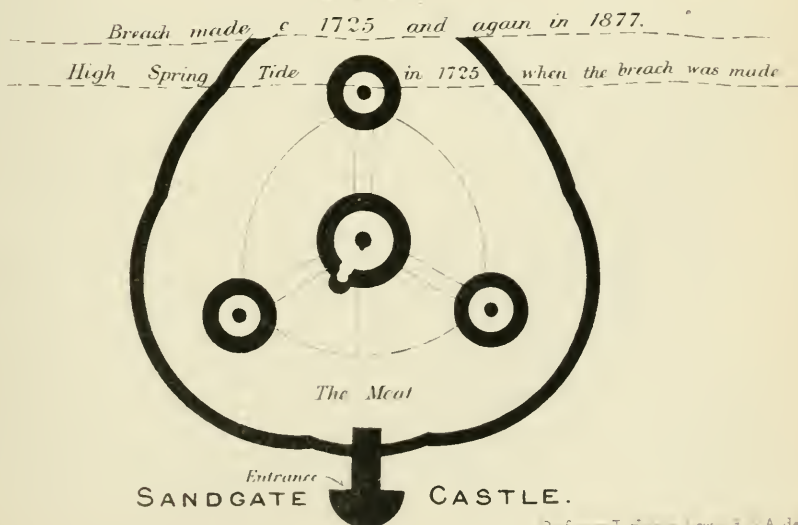
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> P. 166.



SANDOWN CASTLE.

SCALE OF 0 50 100 FEET



SANDGATE CASTLE.

Prof. T. H. Lewis, F.R.S.A. den



1808, when Brayley states that some repairs have recently been made to the Castle. In 1863 it is stated in the journals of the day to have been pulled down; but this referred only to the central tower and the upper part of the four bastions, thus forming a level platform. Up to last year this lower portion remained, with its masonry, complete, not only to the Castle itself, but to the wall of the moat, so far as the part which I have coloured dark on the plan. So also did the moat itself, although this had been so neglected and filled with rubbish that the lower port-holes, shown on my drawing, were hidden.

Under the level platform which I have mentioned above was the very picturesque corridor of which I show a sketch, and which passed all round the lower level of the central tower. This corridor is not shown on the plan, which is on the level of the upper story. It shows an artistic treatment of this part which no modern engineer would think of giving to it, and deserves a better fate than to be destroyed for want of a little care. There is no work of this kind in Sandgate Castle, where the lower part is quite perfect, and supported on plain brick vaults springing each from a central column.

The whole building of Sandown, so far as I could see of the remains, was admirably constructed in the ordinary mediæval manner, viz., with outer ashlaring and a hearting of rubble. The stonework was in regular courses of 6 to 8 inches deep, well put together, and so bound up with the rubble that the engineers were compelled to separate them by blasting. It was said, as a reason for the destruction, that the Castle was dangerous; if so, it has been rendered still more so by the removal of the casing, which has left the hearting unprotected, whilst the part next to the sea (the only part which could be considered unsafe) is left just as it was, neither secured nor removed. No doubt there were and are settlements and cracks; but I will venture to say that the same amount of expense which has been wasted on the destructive works would have preserved this unique specimen for many a year. To support this view, I may remind the Association that Deal Castle was reported, nearly three hundred years ago, to have had its foundations eaten away by the sea. But the damage was soon repaired, and the old Castle



remains to us, however disfigured by modern additions. A view of it in its old state is given in Hasted's *Kent*. The outer wall also of Sandgate Castle was broken through by the sea one hundred and fifty years ago ; but the breach was repaired, and the sea-wall was perfect until 1877. When then again broken through, it was found to have been built upon piles in place of being carried down to the rock. A new wall, within the limits of the old, has now been so carried down, and is likely to last as long as the old one did. But the far more interesting Castle of Sandown has been utterly uncared for, until it was considered to be a suitable stone quarry for building an officer's house at Dover.

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SAMPHIRE (*CRITHIMUM MARITIMUM*).

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

*(Read August 1883.)*

WHAT has archæology to do with botany, or botany with archæology, are queries which may be asked from two opposite standpoints, and to which the same reply may be given, viz., that one science not unfrequently helpeth the other; for whilst the botanist describes the physical character of a tree or plant, thus enabling the archæologist to identify what is essential for him to know, the latter can tell the former where early evidence or mention of the vegetable is to be found, the origin perchance of its name, and something about the traditions and superstitions which surround it. But even if the two sciences of botany and archæology were as far asunder as the Poles, there is one plant which Shakspeare has so eternally connected with the Chalky Crags of Dover that it would seem unpardonable not to mention it whilst a Congress is being held in ancient *Dubris*, but that mention must be brief indeed, for the literature of *Samphire* is meagre in the extreme.

Samphire, or Sampere, as Sir Thomas Elyot gives it in his *Dictionary*, 1559, and Sampetra, as Gerarde has it in his *Herball* of 1633 (page 534), is said by Minshew to be a corruption of the French *Saint Pierre*, a notion which receives support from the Italian name of the plant, *Herba di San Pietro*. Our Britannic ancestors called the samphire *Y Godog*, and *Corn y Carw Môr*, i.e., The Sea Stag's Horn; and the Welsh of the present day frequently designate it *Ffenigyl y Môr*, The Sea Fennel, which agrees with the Dutch *Meer Fenchel*. Gerarde says the "Rocke Sampier is called in Greek *krithmon*, in Latin *Crithmum*; and of divers, *Bati*"; and to these names he adds that of *Crestmarine*. And he tells us that "Rocke Sampier hath many fat and thicke leaves, somewhat like those of the lesser Purslane, of a spicy taste with a certaine saltnesse; amongst which riseth up

a stalke, divided into many smal spraes or sprigs; on the top whereof doe grow spokie tufts of white floures, like the tufts of fenell or dill; after that cometh the seed like the seed of fenell, but greater. The root is thicke and knobbie, being of smell delightfull and pleasant." And he goes on to say that it "groweth on the rockie cliffes at Dover, Winchelsey, by Rie, about Southampton, the Isle of Wight, and most rockes about the West and North-west parts about England." And under the head of *Vertues* he states that "The leaves kept in pickle, and eaten in Sallads with Oile and Vineger, is a pleasant Sauce for Meat." Michael Drayton in his *Poly-olbion* thus speaks of Dover's samphire as a relish:

"Some, his ill-season'd Mouth that wisely understood,  
Rob Dover's neighbouring Cleeves of Sampyre, to excite  
His dull and sickly taste, and stir up appetite."

The difficulty and danger which beset the men employed in culling the Dover samphire for the gratification of the palate, and to "stir up appetite", suggested to the mind of Shakspeare those thrilling words which, in his play of *King Lear* (act iv, sc. 6), he places in the mouth of Edgar whilst he with Gloucester stands on the cliff's edge—

"How fearful  
And dizzy 'tis, to cast one's Eyes so low!  
The Crows and Changhs, that wing the mid-way air,  
Show scarce so gross as Beetles. Half-way down  
Hangs one that gathers Samphire, dreadful trade!  
Methinks he seems no bigger than his head."

In the sixteenth century samphire was sold, like other herbs, by street itinerants, a fact shown by one of Heywood's songs, in which the cries of London are rehearsed—

"I ha' Rock-Samphier, Rock-Samphier."

Hannah Woolley, in her *Queen-like Closet*, 1684, page 30, gives the following directions how "To Boil Samphire"—"Take water and salt so strong as will bear an egg, boil it, and when it boils put in your samphire unwashed, and let it scald a little, then take it off, and cover it so close that no Air can get in, and set the Pot upon a cold Wisp of Hay, and so let it stand all night, and it will be very green, then put it up for your use."

Mrs. Glasse (*i.e.*, Sir John Hill), in *The Art of Cookery*, 1760, page 270, furnishes full particulars how "To Pickle Samphire", but as this work is so well known there is no need to quote from it.

Gerarde describes the medical virtues of samphire, but his words cannot be well repeated here ; but a few lines must be cited from Nicholas Culpepper's *English Physician* (ed. 1752, p. 300) to show the high esteem in which he held the plant. He says samphire "is an Herb of Jupiter, and was in former Times wont to be used more than now it is ; the more is the Pity. It is well known almost to every body, that ill Digestions and Obstructions are the Cause of most of the Diseases which the frail Nature of Man is subject to ; both which might be remedied by a more frequent Use of this Herb. If people would have Sauce to their Meat, they may take some for Profit as for Pleasure. It is a safe Herb, very pleasant both to taste and stomach, helping Digestion, and in some sort opening Obstructions of the Liver and Spleen."

With learned Culpepper's quaint panegyric must be closed this brief contribution to the story of a plant sacred to St. Peter, and under the rule of Jupiter : a plant which as early as the days of Dioscorides was extolled for its medical virtues, and has from olden times to the present hour been counted a luxury for the table ; and which, through the genius of Shakspeare, has acquired a fame lofty and enduring as the White Cliffs of Dover.

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## RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRESCO AT PATCHAM CHURCH, SUSSEX.

BY G. R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. CURATOR  
AND LIBRARIAN.

(*Read Feb. 17, 1880.*)

UNLIKE the neighbouring church of Preston, in which a beautiful fresco was brought to light some years ago, Patcham Church presents, besides Early English (for which alone the former interesting edifice is well known), a curious mixture of Decorated, Perpendicular, and Norman, if not late Saxon work, as the sketch of its now blocked-up doorway on the north side of the building I exhibited at the last meeting pretty certainly indicated. In this church has been uncovered, as recently as the autumn of last year, a very well preserved and interesting fresco (a drawing of which is now on the screen before you) over the Norman arch between the nave and chancel of the church.

For some time indications had been observed of colour beneath the surface of the lime or whitewash which until recently covered the mural painting in question; and when the church was under a certain amount of restoration, the Rev. Tenison Mosse, Vicar of Patcham, had the various coatings carefully removed; no less than thirty surfaces being got through before coming to the painting, more or less damaged by two large tablets to the family of the Roes and Ogles, who were and are in the person of Lady Ogle, now living, the largest proprietors of this part of Sussex, which were built in upon the fresco, and on each side of the chancel-arch.

In the process of scraping and cutting away each coat of wash and plaster, several indications of later wall-paintings were noticed; and even now, upon a close examination of the present one, which my old friend, and our excellent Hon. Draughtsman, Mr. Teniswood, F.S.A., made with me on Wednesday last in the church itself, there are evidences of an earlier painting still than the one



now so well brought out through the care bestowed upon it by all concerned in the before referred to process of what may be called "ecclesiastical denudation". These indications, as they are peculiarly of an artistic nature, I shall leave Mr. Teniswood (whom I have the pleasure to see present) to explain to you, as well as to tell you more of the nature of the painting than I am qualified to give in an æsthetic point of view.

The subject, there can be little doubt, is that of the Day of Judgment and the Resurrection; and the figures below the grand centre group, which were at first thought to represent the punishment of Purgatory, or even of Hell, are merely bodies rising from the graves at the sound of the last trump, which the two angels above are supposed to be sounding, and which the remains of a tombstone over a grave on the left hand side will pretty well confirm.

The date of the fresco is, as usual with all such mural paintings, an open question; for although there are certain ornaments, borderings, and costume (notably the Norman crown on the head of the Queen of Heaven, and of which I exhibit, through the courtesy of the worthy Vicar of Patcham, to whom so much credit is due for almost saving this fresco to us all, a full-sized copy on tracing paper), which suggest very early work, no real reliance can be placed upon such things, from the frequent habit which prevailed of continuing and elaborating the earlier designs which existed on the same walls; and in this instance we now see a fuller and no doubt much later work than the one which preceded the present picture. Still, there can be little doubt of this painting being thirteenth century work, although some, I believe, have classed it a century earlier.

I will not dilate further upon this interesting relic of early art, since I believe the subject is to form a more elaborate paper by a member<sup>1</sup> of the Royal Institute of

<sup>1</sup> By a reference to vol. xxxvii of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 205, I find Mr. C. E. Keyser read a paper "On the Recently Discovered Mural Paintings at Patcham, near Brighton", in 1880, and on which Messrs. J. G. Waller and J. T. Micklethwaite made some observations. This paper, the notice goes on to say, will appear in a future Number of the *Journal*; but although I searched for it in the succeeding volumes up to the close of last year (1883), I failed to find any further reference to it, so I presume it has not yet been printed *in extenso*.

Archæology in a short time ; only as I happened to come across the fresco a few weeks since, whilst on a visit to Hollingbury Copse, the seat of our learned friend and Vice-President, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in the parish of Patcham, I thought our Association would like to have a few particulars of such a work for a record in the pages of the *Journal*, although it may not be thought worth while to perpetuate the present drawing, which I may add is a very accurate copy, by an engraving or outline illustration of it.

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#### NOTES.

- Size.—Segment of a circle ; diameter, 18 feet at its extremities, and 7 feet from the crown to the base ; centre quatrefoil, 6 feet high.
- „ 22 feet by 2 feet 7 inches high ; second compartment, whole width of church.
- „ Lowest compartment extends whole width of church, but is divided by the chancel-arch, and is about 1 foot high.
-

## ROMAN EMBANKING AND SANITARY PRECAUTIONS.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

(Read April 2, 1884.)

A FEW years since I communicated to the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii, my opinion on the origin of the Thames Embankment, founded upon a personal and complete examination from Gravesend to Cliffe, and also in districts above and below those localities. I gave reasons, which I deem irrefutable, why this stupendous barrier must be ascribed to the engineering skill and enterprise of the Romans.

Since then, Mr. Octavius Morgan has kindly sent me a copy of his account of an inscribed stone found at Goldcliff, on the shore of the Bristol Channel, near Newport in Monmouthshire, which confirms strikingly my opinion; and at the same time gives equally conclusive evidence to the correctness of Archdeacon Trollope's (now Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham) conclusions on the origin of the Car Dyke in Lincolnshire, to which I shall presently refer. The discovery recorded by Mr. Octavius Morgan is one of the most important that has ever been made in this country. It is the only one bearing on these great embankments that as yet has been brought to light; and it gives reasonable assurance that other inscribed stones are buried under the soil, and are not unlikely to be revealed by some happy accident or careful exploration.

Mr. Morgan states<sup>1</sup> that in the autumn of 1878, the stone was washed out, by the action of the tide, from a bank on the shore of the Bristol Channel at Goldcliff, near Newport, in the county of Monmouth. It is a small slab of the lias limestone, 21 inches in length; in breadth

<sup>1</sup> *Goldcliff and the Roman Inscribed Stone found there*, 1878, by Octavius Morgan, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., President. Printed for the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, 1882. Newport.

at the top, 14 inches, and at the bottom, 11 inches. The inscription, rudely cut, is :—

COHĪ  
)STATORI  
M M I  
II

As a prelude to remarks on the inscription, and to show its importance, Mr. Morgan writes as follows :—

“Along the shore of the Bristol Channel which forms the southern boundary of the county of Monmouth, on both sides of the mouth of the river Usk, there is a very wide extent of low flat level land, as will be observed by everyone who travels along the Great Western and South Wales Railway from Chepstow to Cardiff. This low tract of country has, at some very early period, been reclaimed from the Channel or Severn Sea, as it was anciently called, by a high, raised embankment, which is now called the ‘Sea Wall’, and extends along the whole distance, commencing on the west at the mouth of the river Rumney, which divides the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and continuing eastward as far as the higher ground at Portsmouth, a few miles from the mouth of the Wye at Chepstow, being a distance of about twenty miles, with an average width of about three miles. The river Usk, which rises in the Brecknockshire mountains, and, flowing through Monmouthshire, drains all the intermediate country in its course, passes across the lowlands, and empties its waters into the Bristol Channel near Newport.

“Previous to the formation of this embankment, and consequent drainage of the land within it, this extensive tract of country must have been an immense marsh or lagoon, and quite uninhabitable, a very considerable portion of it being many feet below the level of the tide, and consequently always inundated at high water; and, but for the embankment, it would be so now, and the more elevated spots would have the appearance of flat islands. By the construction of this embankment or sea wall, the tide was prevented flowing over the land, and the marshy swamp was easily drained by means of ditches having sluices at their outfall to prevent the inflow of the Channel water at high tides; and such is the case at the present time.

“ By whom, or at what period, this large tract of country was first embanked or drained has been hitherto unknown, for there is neither history nor tradition respecting it ; nor has anything before this time been discovered to lead even to a surmise. My own opinion has always been that the sea-wall must have been the work of the Romans; for no other possessors of the country ever had either the power or the skill to have achieved such a work. Neither the Saxons nor the Danes had sufficient hold of the country, nor were long enough there to have attempted such a great work ; and indeed the whole tract of country must have been for a very long period embanked, drained, and brought into a state fit for habitation and cultivation before the Saxons attempted to invade it, as they did in the time of Harold ; and the Normans, on their arrival, found it embanked, drained, inhabited, and cultivated ready to their hands, and divided it into manors and parishes on their taking possession.”

The foregoing extracts from Mr. Morgan's Paper will show how completely he and I are in accordance in respect to these great embankments. I have referred to historical evidence, proving that the Thames Embankment must have been anterior to the Saxon period, because at that time the Higham and Cliffe marshes were in a state of cultivation, and pastured cattle and sheep. Like those in Monmouthshire, they are drained by wide and deep ditches, also embanked, the banks often serving for roads. The discovery of the inscribed stone is equally important for both districts, and indeed for others. To this I now return.

The lettering upon the stone denotes that a detachment from the First Cohort, under a centurion named Stator or Statorius, executed a certain amount of work in the construction of the embankment, indicated in the third line and by the two perpendicular incisions below. It may be doubted what amount of work was intended, whether one mile or three ; but probably the latter ; and the first M may stand for *Murus*. This is of no particular importance. The great interest of the inscription lies in the fact that the military were employed ; and it is perfectly clear that this Cohort was one of those composing the Second Legion stationed at *Isca Silurum*, now Caer-



leon. It has been suggested that in consequence of the A in the second line wanting the crossbar, the inscription is posterior to the reign of Gordianus Pius ; but I believe this peculiarity is to be attributed to the fancy or negligence of the sculptor ; and that the embankment was thrown up at an early period. Many of these stones, denoting measurement of work, are very roughly done, as may be seen in Mr. Lee's *Isca Silurum*, and in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale* ; and they seem to have been left to the pleasure of the soldiers who did the work ; they are not the less valuable on that account.

The Car Dyke is another stupendous work of the Romans, commencing on the Nen, near Peterborough, and ending in the parish of Washingborough near Lincoln, where it formerly joined the Witham, a distance of fifty-six miles in length. Archdeacon Trollope has given a masterly description of it ; and I feel I cannot do better than refer to the work in which it is embodied : a work deserving to be upon the shelf of the library of every antiquary. It is *Sleaford ; and the Wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn in the County of Lincoln*. London : Kent and Co. ; Sleaford, Fawcett, 1872.

The embankment of the Thames terminates opposite Sheerness, at what is now Port Victoria. There is the mouth of the Medway, much wider and of a very different character from its state in the time of the Romans. Then this river must have had a comparatively narrow channel, as is most obviously shown by the extensive sites of the Roman potteries now submerged. Then, there was no need of embankments ; and wide tracts of land once valuable, but now worthless, lay high and dry. Had the Romans remained, doubtless the Medway would have been secured from inundating the adjoining land, and curbed by the same vigorous hands and thoughtful minds which had controlled the Thames ; but succeeding peoples wanted the Roman forethought and public spirit ; and generation after generation in the long middle and modern ages, looked quietly on and allowed the sea free scope to intrude and destroy. Thus miles of the richest arable land on each side of the Medway have been lost ; while the encroachments of the sea continue yearly to increase, until the towns of Chatham, Rochester, and

Strood are invaded, while the lower part of the last is yearly submerged, the houses standing for days in water rendered impure, from 3 to 5 feet deep.

The teachings of the past are as indifferent to the persons who govern as are the miseries into which their criminal neglect has plunged so many of their fellow citizens. In the time of the Romans, of whom they know nothing, and will not be taught, most of the land of Strood, now deluged, was devoted to a public cemetery; and adjoining it the Saxons laid their dead.<sup>1</sup> The sites of the potteries below Upchurch show that the district now covered by the sea was cultivated and worked by a large and flourishing population; while the evidence of sepulchral interments, and habitations, reveal alike the former stable state of the extensive tract of land; and the negligence of the moderns. It is, of course, due to the natural organisation of the Teutonic races, which could not understand the sanitary precautions of their predecessors. They allowed the drains of the towns to be choked up; and were content to live surrounded with impurities which brought disease and death, but not instruction. The baths in the Roman houses were disregarded, for they were not a washing people. Thus we ever find the hypocausts of the Roman villas in a state of ruin. The ill-fated Strood, to which I have drawn attention, is altogether undrained; and the atmosphere in the lower part of the High Street is quite unbearable to those not born to it, from the effects of the tides carrying into the cellars the most noxious and poisonous matters. The subject of the present state of the Medway calls loudly for the attention of Parliament to save health and life; and then there is abundant scope for studying its past and better condition and history.

<sup>1</sup> See *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, for an account of the discoveries made here.

# RECENT DISCOVERIES MADE AT AQUINCUM IN HUNGARY,

AND SOME

## ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING THE CONQUEST UNDER TRAJAN.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.

(Read November 21, 1883.)

SOME friends who had been travelling in Hungary and on the Lower Danube, having brought copies of inscriptions and notes collected on this journey, I have much pleasure in placing these before the Association, together with a few remarks bearing on their history. They have also favoured me with notes and a copy of an account of the late excavations, published at Budapest (1881) by Professor Torma Károly; and as these particulars may be new to the members of the Association, I have embodied them in this paper, feeling assured that if they are already known they will excuse the repetition.

Immediately opposite *Pest*, separated from it by the Danube, lies Buda, containing the Citadel; a town known under the Romans as Sicambria, and believed to have received its present name in memory of Buda, the younger brother of Attila.<sup>1</sup> Adjoining Buda is the now straggling village of O'Buda (Old Buda), on which spot Attila established his court and camp when, accompanied by his Turanian hordes, he emigrated from the region of the Volga, and invaded almost the whole of Aryan Christendom, A.D. 433-453. It was here that, after the expulsion of the Romans, he erected his iron throne and built his barbarian palace, on the ruins of which (after his Hunnic empire had been swept away by the Avars in the sixth century) the great Arpad, who in his turn subjugated the Avars, celebrated, A.D. 889, his conquest of Pannonia.

O'Buda (known to the Romans as Aquincum,<sup>2</sup> a name

<sup>1</sup> Buda is called by Gibbon "Bleda". See *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iv, p. 225, edit. 1848.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Aquincum, see *Magyar-Land*, vol. ii, pp. 265, 266, by a Fellow of the Carpathian Society. London: Sampson Low and Co. 1881.

supposed to have been given to it on account of *five* springs which exist in the neighbourhood) has long been known to contain remains of great interest. Some years ago excavations brought to light the fact that it was once a city capable of containing 200,000 inhabitants. The foundations of an amphitheatre were discovered, and there exist the remains of an aqueduct one mile and a half long, some of the piers of which are still standing.

Excavations were recommenced in September 1880. The account is thus given by Mons. Polzky, Curator of the Museum at Pest. Above the aqueduct towards the mountains, a hill attracted the attention of the Board for the preservation of ancient monuments, which, in the spring meeting in the year 1880, it resolved upon excavating. The ground was consequently secured for the Board, and the excavations commenced in the month of September under the superintendence of Professor Torma Károly. These proved successful; about one half of a large Roman amphitheatre, larger than that at Pompeii, was unearthed, with many Roman inscriptions, proving that a temple to Nemesis stood in the immediate neighbourhood of the amphitheatre.<sup>1</sup> Some of the seats of the latter are

<sup>1</sup> Inscription found at Aquincum :

NEMESI  
OMNIPOTEN  
TI . AVG  
M . VLPVS  
ZOSIMVS  
XII . K . SEPT . RVS  
TICO . II . E . AQLIN.

Nemesi Omnipotenti Augustæ. Marcus Ulpins Zosimus xii. Kalendas Septembres Rustico ii. et Aquilino consulibus. (A.D. 162, Aug. 21.)

Found in the amphitheatre at Aquincum :

AEMILIANO	DEÆ . DIANÆ . NEMESI . AVG .	ET BASO COS
	HONORIBVS ET FAORIB . S	
	G . IVL . VICTORINI . EQ . P . EDIL	
	II . VIRALI . ET . T . FL . LVCIANO	
	Q . II VIRALI . PONTIFICIBVS	
	QQ . COL . AQ .	
	PPIL . HYPATIANVS	
	ANTESSTIS NVMINI FIVS	
DEÆ POSVIT . V . KA . IVLIAS.		

A.D. 259, Jun. 27.

Deæ Dianæ Nemesi Aug[ustæ] honoribus et favoribus G[aii] Jul[ii]

inscribed with the names of persons to whom they belonged. About five thousand persons could find place in the amphitheatre. Many discoveries were made in the course of excavation.<sup>1</sup>

Above the Margarethen Bridge an interesting Roman coffin was found with a skeleton within, glass bottles, a silver cup, a silver and gold brooch, together with a small figure of jet. Roman antiquities are continually found at O'Buda, which are placed in the National Museum. The name Aquincum occurs four times in the inscriptions recorded in Örelli.<sup>2</sup> The first (No. 506) is a funereal one to Julius Julianus, and the residence is DOMO SEPTAQVINCI EX PANNONIA INFERIORE.

This name *Septa Quincum* seems to have perplexed the editors, but it may probably refer to the springs of water from which Aquincum took its name, and there may have

Victorini eq[uo] p[ublico] Ædil duumvirali et T[ito] Fl[avio] Luciano Quæstori Duumvirali Pontificibus quinquinalibus coloniæ Aquinci.

Pupil[ius] Hypatianus Antestis Numini ejus[dem] Deæ posuit. V. Kal. Julias.

"Deæ Nemesei sive Fortunæ" have been found in an inscription. (Gruter, p. 80, N. 1.) See also Vergil, *Æn.* viii, 334, "Onnipotens" as an epithet of *Fortuna*. (*Acad.*, Aug. 6, 1881, No. 483.) Strabo (*Geogr.* xiii, p. 588, ed. Casaubon) says Nemesis is called Adraste because Adrastus first built her a temple, and cites Antimachus, whose four lines begin :

Ἑστὶ δὲ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλην Θεός.

Her statue at Rhamnus, set up after the battle of Marathon, bore on the crown an image of Victory. (See *Acad.*, Aug. 20, No. 485.) Nemesis is described as "Dea magna potensque." Mr. Hoskyns Abrahall supposes the inscription found at Aquincum to relate to some conflict between the Roman army and the Jazyges, on whose land it was reared, opposite Acineum or Aquincum, a fort that formed its outwork (there being a bridge over the Danube), and hence called "Contra-Acineum" (*Not. Imp.*) ; while Ptolemy, who (*Geo.*, ii, 16, § 4) mentions the stronghold on the site of Alt-Buda as *Ακούργκον*, speaks (iii, 7, § 2) of that on the site of Pesth as *Πέσσιον*. The words "Virgini Victrici Sanctæ Deæ Nemesei" are found in an inscription (Gruter, p. 80, N. 5), and with them may be compared the figure termed "Victoria Nemesis", which appears on some coins (Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*, vi, 236, the first being a gold denarius of Vibius Varus.

<sup>1</sup> See *Az Aquincumi Amphitheatrum, E'szaki Fele*, by Torma Károly. Budapest, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Corp. Inscript. Latin.*, vol. iii, p. 439, Part I. "Colonia Ælia Septimia Aquineum" (Alt-ofen). Many monuments to soldiers of the second legion ("Adjutrix") are found in Lower Pannonia, also of the "Legio III Italica."



originally been seven instead of five, or the name may have been given in honour of Septimius Severus. Perhaps seven springs might still be counted. This is the most probable conjecture I can offer in solution of the difficulty. The next two are inscriptions of miliaries, which give the name in an abbreviated form, and mark the distance from it,<sup>1</sup> and the fourth is a tomb where the words *COL. AQ.*, show it to have been a Roman colony, of which the person recorded was a magistrate.

The two following inscriptions have been sent to me:—

No. 1.

TR . CAESARE . [AVS, letters doubtful. AVG . F.]  
 AVGVSTO . IMPERATO .....  
 PONT . MAX . TR . POT [letters doubtful]  
 LEG . IIII . SCYTH . ET . V . MACEDO.

The above inscription is on a tablet at the beginning of the Roman Road constructed by Trajan during the Dacian War, when he conquered Dicebalus, the events of which are commemorated on the column still standing in the Forum of Trajan at Rome, and on many of his large brass coins. This column has been beautifully illustrated by Pietro Santi Bartoli, and contains a pictorial representation of the events of the campaign, and serves as a guide to understand the mode of warfare both Roman and barbarian at that period of the empire.

This inscription, I am informed, was published fifty years ago in Paget's *Hungary*, a book, I believe, now out of print, and I have nowhere been able to meet with any record of the inscription. As far as I know, the reading is correct; but I cannot explain the AVS at the end of the first line, which do not agree with any titles of Trajan yet recorded. The other titles are clear, and the date may be fixed about A.D. 105. The two legions recorded are the *Legio IIII*, called the *Scythic*, and the fifth, called Macedonian, for services in those countries. By these legions and their auxiliaries the roads were constructed. The tablet is placed at the commencement of the Roman Road, two miles from Alt Orsova, opposite O'Gradina, *i.e.*, Old Gradina, a small village on the Hungarian side of the River Danube, from eighteen to twenty miles above Trajan's celebrated bridge over that river.

<sup>1</sup> See *Corp. I. L.*, vol. iii, 959, 963.

## No. 2.

IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . NERVAE . F.  
 NERVA . TRAIANVS . AVG . GER.  
 PONTIF . MAXIMVS . TRB . PO [reading uncertain]  
 PATER . PATRIAE . COS. [uncertain]  
 MONTISL | | AN BVS  
 SVP AT E

The above is the inscription upon what is locally called "Trajan's Tafel", or Trajan's tablet, near O'Gradina, on the left bank of the Danube.<sup>1</sup> The tablet is much defaced and blackened by the smoke of fires, kindled by the Servian peasants in front of it; but the reading of the first four lines seems to be quite correct. Trajan died in the twentieth year of his tribunate, A.D. 117. The Column of Trajan in Rome was erected in his seventeenth tribunitian year. He went on his expedition to the East in his eighteenth. It was after his Triumph, in his tenth tribunitian year, that he engaged in various public works. These are recorded on coins, and probably this road was one of them.

Trajan was consul for the fourth time A.D. 101, in the *first* Dacian war, and therefore the consular date, if rightly ascertained, would fix the erection of the monument or tablet sometime after that year, when he held the tribunitian power for the fifth or sixth time, probably A.D. 103. The last lines seem to record the removal of some obstruction caused by the mountain.

The marble arch erected at Ancona, in honour of Trajan, by the Senate and people of Rome, gives his titles as follows:—

IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . NERVAE . F . NERVAE  
 TRAIANO OPTIMO . AVG . GERMANICO . DACICO  
 PONT . MAX . TR . POT XVIII IMP VIII .  
 COS . VI . PP . PROVIDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI  
 etc. etc. etc.

This inscription dates A.D. 115, and he has the additional titles OPTIMO, DACICO, PROVIDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI. The inscription on the base of the famous column in the Forum of Trajan at Rome (dedicated A.D. 114) runs thus—

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS  
 IMP . CAESARI . DIVI . NERVAE . F

<sup>1</sup> See *Magyar-Land*, by a Fellow of the Carpathian Society, vol. ii, pp. 29, 30, and following.

NERVAE TRAIANO . AVG . GERM . DACICO  
 PONTIF . MAXIMO . TRIB . POT . XII . IMP . VI . P . P .  
 AD DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITVDINIS  
 MONS ET LOCVS TANT[IS OPERI]BVS SIT EGESTVS.

It is singular that this inscription has the word *mons* as well as that at O'Gradina. The historian, Dion Cassius,<sup>1</sup> explains that the side of the hill was cut away to allow the extension of the Forum where the column now stands, and this had been done also at O'Gradina.

In the first campaign against the Dacians, Trajan's army passed down the River Save, then crossed the Danube in two divisions at Kastolatz and at the confluence of the Tjerna. The two divisions effected a junction at the pass of Bistra, called the Iron Gate, which they forced, and then took the royal city of Zermizegethusa. Trajan then pushed on into the heart of the country, and obtained a victory at Tapæ, after which Decebalus, the Dacian King, sued for peace.<sup>2</sup>

The territory of the Dacians occupied a part of Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and a portion of Moldavia. After Trajan's final victory, at the end of his first campaign, he is represented on the column addressing his soldiers, said in the explanation to be the thirteenth legion brought out of Upper Pannonia, and about to be left as a garrison in Dacia.<sup>3</sup> We therefore find records of two more legions, besides the thirteenth, viz., the fourth and the fifth, engaged in this war; and by an inscription found at Braccava in Portugal, Leg. I. M. P. F. is commemorated as serving in the war. The bridge made by Trajan over the Danube is described in Dion Cassius, lvi, 13; also by Merivale, *Rome under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 235. The foundations may still be seen in the bed of the river, which is not less than 1,300 yards wide at that point, near the village of Gieli. From this point a permanent road into Dacia was secured, by which Trajan was enabled to complete his conquests. This is one of the great monuments of Roman conquest. The Romans also joined the Danube and the Rhine by a

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Cass., lxxviii, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Dion Cassius, and Epitome in Burns' *Rome and the Campaigns*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> See Bartoli.

*Limes* or boundary, traces of which still exist, and of which a very interesting account is given by the late Mr. Yates in the Newcastle volume of the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1852.<sup>1</sup> The troops employed in making this boundary were principally the eighth and twenty-second legions, with their cohorts.<sup>2</sup>

The following inscription on a monumental stone was lately found at Aquincum, Old Buda (1st Dec. 1881), in constructing the Filatori Dyke, in Hungary: together with funereal remains in an ancient Roman cemetery.

CLAVSA JACET LAPIDI CONJVNX PIA CARA SABINA  
ARTIBVS EDOCTA SVPERABAT SOLA MARITVM  
VOX EI GRATA FVIT PVLSABAT POLLICE CORDAS  
SET<sup>3</sup> CITO RAPTA SILPI<sup>5</sup> TI<sup>6</sup>RDINOS DVXERAT ANNOS  
HEV MALE QVINQVE MINVS SET<sup>7</sup> PLVS TRES ME[N]SES<sup>8</sup> HABEBAT  
BIS SEPTENQVE DIES VIXIT HEC<sup>9</sup> IPSA SVPERSTES SPECTATA IN POPVLO  
HYDRA ..... GRATA REGEBAT SIS FELIX QVICVMQVE LEGES TE  
NVMINA SERVENT ET PIA VOCE CANENT AELIA SABINA VALE T AELI VSTUS  
HYDRAVI<sup>10</sup>ARIVS SALARIARIVS LEG II AD CONJVGI FACIENDVM CVRAVIT.

As it may be read: <sup>11</sup>

1. Clausa jacet Lapidi conjunx pia cara Sabina
2. Artibus edocta superabat sola maritum.
3. Vox ei grata fuit, <sup>i</sup>pulsabat pollice cordas.
4. Sed <sup>t s</sup>cito rapta <sup>pi i i</sup>silet, terdenos duxerat annos.
5. Heu male! quinque minus, <sup>t</sup>sed plus tres menses habebat,
6. Bis septemque dies vixit, hæc ipsa superstes
7. Spectata in populo, Hydrau[lio] grata regebat.
8. Sis felix quicumque leges, te numina servent,
9. Et pia voce cane, Ælia Sabina vale.

T[itus] Ælius Justus, Hydraularius Salariarius Leg. II.  
Ad[jutrix]  
Conjungi faciendum curavit.

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Limes Rhaeticus and Limes Transrhenanus of the Roman Empire*, by James Yates, M.A.; and a further and more complete account by Mr. T. Hodgkin (1882), *Archæol. Eliana*.

<sup>2</sup> See Steiner, *Codeæ Inscrip. Rom. Rheni*. Darmstadt, 1837.

<sup>3</sup> For D.

<sup>4</sup> For s. Probably Greek σ being put for s.

<sup>5</sup> Probably SILET; P being put for E, and the top stroke for the I being omitted.

<sup>6</sup> I for E. Two II's sometimes used for E.

<sup>7</sup> T for D.

<sup>8</sup> Probably a — over MESES, standing for N.

<sup>9</sup> E for AE.

<sup>10</sup> I perhaps for L, *Hydraularius*.

<sup>11</sup> The misspellings are noted in small letters over the correct readings.

The interesting tribute of conjugal affection, written in hexameter lines, may be read thus :—

Buried beneath this stone lies a wife, dutiful, dear Sabina.  
 Instructed in arts, she alone surpassed her husband.  
 Her voice was charming to him when she touched the strings ;  
 But swiftly [or soon] snatched away, she is silent.  
 Thrice ten years, less five, but three months and twice seven days  
 she lived.  
 She herself while alive pleasantly ruled the household of Hydran-  
 lius (? Hydranlarins).  
 Be happy whoever reads [these lines], and may  
 The gods keep you safe, and with pious exclamation [voice]  
 [Exclaim] cry out, Ælia Sabina, farewell !  
 T[itus] Æli[us] Justus Hydraviarius [? Hydraularius]  
 Salariarius, of the Second Legion,  
 Adjutrix, placed this to his wife.

The name of the husband who erected the monument is clear,—Titus Ælius Justus ; and that he belonged to the second legion, surnamed Adjutrix. The word engraved on the inscription as *Hydraviarius*, should probably be read *Hydraularius*, the (i) being put for (L), or mis-copied. The whole inscription seems full of verbal errors, either of the sculptor or copyist.

The epithet *Hydraularius* would intimate that either he played upon the water organ, or was connected in some way with hydraulics or waterworks. Salariarius, that he received pay for the work he did. He was therefore a salaried officer attached to the legion ; but whether as a musician or connected with waterworks (which is most probable), like our water bailiff, is uncertain.

There is an inscription in Orellius (No. 4074) where the CORPVS CORARIORVM MAGNARIORVM SALARIARORVM put up a statue, or some honorary erection, to the Emperor—

C. VAL. AVREL. CONSTANTINVS.—  
 DEVOTI NVMINI MAJESTATIS EJUS ;

but these were the Salii, or Priests of Mars, who chanted the “Saliare Carmen”, and with whom splendid banquets are connected.

The account of the finding of the inscription is contained in the *Building News* of April 2nd, and copied into the *Antiquary's Note Book*, May 1883. But the writer does not seem to know that there were *two* second



legions; the one surnamed "Adjutrix", and the other "Augusta"; and he supposes the name as written on the stone, *Hydraviarius*, to have connected T. Ælius Justus with *water-fowl*. I am rather inclined to think that there is an error in the spelling, of which there are so many instances in the inscription, and that he was the salaried or retired water bailiff of the second legion, Adjutrix, stationed at Aquincum, who erected this touching memorial of conjugal affection.

As the Roman town of Aquincum takes its name from *five springs*, and probably owed its rise and origin to them, it is not improbable, therefore, that T. Ælius Justus had the management or superintendence of these springs, and this renders the inscription still more interesting and important.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were ordered to be returned to the Society for "Collections relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xvii, Part xxxiv. April 1884.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Librarian*, proposed a resolution expressive of sympathy and condolence with Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family upon the melancholy occasion of the death of H.R.H. the Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, etc.

This was seconded by the Chairman, and passed unanimously.

Mr. Wright described the progress of arrangements for the Tenby Congress, and gave a short archaeological description of the town and its neighbourhood.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., exhibited two large silver buckles of good design and workmanship, from Maidstone, conjectured to have formed part of the harness of a chariot of the seventeenth century, two free-masons' medals, and a medal struck in memory of the battle of Culloden. These objects were commented upon by several of the members.

Mr. Jarvis exhibited the steel hook or hasp of a chatelaine of the seventeenth century.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a Gnostic medal or coin of silver, bearing on the obverse a bust of Our Saviour to the right; on the reverse, a Hebrew inscription.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited some archaic Greek relics from recent excavations. Among them were black ware and red ware jugs; a lamp-feeder, or libation-vase, with painted design of a winged Victory sacrificing a bull; and a long pipe-like object in terra-cotta, painted in the early Corinthian style.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., exhibited a collection of miscellaneous objects, and furnishes the following

### REMARKS ON RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL RELICS OF LONDON, ETC.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

Stow writes, in his *Monuments of the Eastern Wards of the City of London*, that near the present junction of Aldgate with Fenchurch

Street there stood the great Priory of Christchurch. The Priory was founded by Matilda, Queen of Henry I, and built on the site of a church erected by one Siredus in honour of the Holy Cross and also St. Mary Magdalen, belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Waltham, and from which they received annually the sum of thirty shillings. In exchange for this annual payment the Queen gave a mill to the Abbey of Waltham, the exchange being confirmed by Henry I. It was instituted a House of Canons Regular, and, singularly, Norman was the name of the first Canon.

In course of years this Priory became a very large and "faire" church, rich in lands and ornaments, and "passed" all the priories of London or Middlesex, the Prior himself being one of the Aldermen of London, viz., of Portsoken Ward. The Priors sat and rode with the Aldermen, in "like liveries", but more becoming to a "spiritual man". As was fitting, a bountiful table for rich and poor was kept by them. This Priory was surrendered July 23, 1531, and the ecclesiastical staff well provided for, the church and buildings being given to Sir Thomas Audley, who would have presented the church to the parish of Holy Trinity. The gift, however, being declined on account of its vast size, the buildings were destroyed, and "any one could have a cart of faire stone for six-pence."

Now, "windowed walls", in Stow's days, were found beneath; and again, last year, "ecclesiastical looking" walls were unearthed hereabout. Some fifteen years since, a crypt or crypt-chapel, was dug down to and destroyed; not unlikely to have belonged to this great Priory.

Queen Matilda came by Danish descent, with admixture of Norman blood; and as the benefactors of these rich church foundations were commemorated by obits, monuments, festivals, and charters, it is not unbecoming to suppose Matilda's memory in some manner might have been preserved. Well, with the several objects of Norman date, from this supposed site, comes the wall-boss now exhibited, which, although of later date by two hundred and fifty years, and far different from Norman ornamentation, bears a heraldry pointing to the Vikings of Denmark, a raven feasting upon a human head, which the bird clutches with its foot. The boss is 8 inches in square measurement, but circular in form, and about 3 ins. thick. It has been cut in a species of concrete, but evidently carefully tooled. The casting lends colour to the supposition that it is but one of a series; our Secretary, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, hinting it might have been, with others, a wall-decoration, or an ornament in the spandrels of an architectural chimney-piece.

A fourteenth century tile was here exhumed, bearing the cross fleury; also a Norman jug with green, partial glaze, upright neck, and "paste" exceedingly thin and fine, with some resemblance to Wedgwood's; another, a bird-like jug, with perfect, brownish green glaze, covered

with small bosses ; also five cups of exquisitely iridescent glass, of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries ; several fragments of ornamented glass drinking-vessels ; and one of those mysterious, digital, olive-green glass vessels resembling an ancient alabastron, but serving possibly as a chrysmatory.

Two other specimens of Norman art were exhibited, but from different localities : 1. A small, upright, ringed, and narrow Norman fictile vessel, pierced under the lip with a small, round hole : this may be held as a measure of quantity, since sizes of these singular vessels are now known. 2. Also a very curious, glove-shaped cast representing the human face, well designed and well tooled, and glazed. The face is bearded and round. May it not represent the conquered Saxon ? Our member, Mr. Cecil Brent, supposes it may have been, with another, attached as a lift to a vase or vessel. The glove-shape favours the idea, as the hand can be readily inserted for the purpose of lifting.

Although in this day it may be impossible to point out the exact site of Northumberland House, or the mansion in which Sir Nicholas Throgmorton lived, so that in probability of possession these heraldic tiles, bronze snuffers, and shovel and tongs, found in Fenchurch Street, relics of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, might be associated with names so noble, yet it is interesting that these adjuncts to home-life in old London were disinterred from the immediate vicinity of these famous houses. The tongs are intended evidently for adjustment of logs on the andirons of the fireplace. This may account for the absence of sifter or poker.

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Mr. Mayhew then read the commencing portion of a paper on "Tenby and St. David's", which, it is hoped, may hereafter find a place in the *Journal*.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper communicated by C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A., on "Roman Embanking", which has been printed above, at pp. 185-189.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned

*To the Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A.*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries," Part 22. April 1884.

*To W. Hughes, Esq.*, for "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica", vol. i, No. 4.

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", vol. v, New Series. 1882-83.

*To the Society*, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. vi. Oct. 1883. No. 56.

The progress of Congress arrangements at Tenby was duly reported.

It was also announced that the contemplated exhibition of archæological relics in connection with the Sanitary Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum had been abandoned in consequence of the unsuitability of the space for exhibiting objects placed at the command of the Association.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock exhibited an extensive collection of leaden counters or cloth-seals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Various designs in relief, such as fleurs-de-lis, stars, merchant-marks, and monograms, were noticeable on these curious and little known relics.

Mr. W. G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a collection of twenty camera lucida drawings of stone monuments and cromlechs in Pembrokeshire. Mr. Smith also exhibited a large stone axe mounted in a wooden handle, brought by a sailor from the Solomon Islands, Australasia. The keen-edged, polished stone blade, made of a siliceous schist or a banded chert, measured  $9\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 5 inches, and weighed 2 lb. 5 oz.

The Chairman read the following notice of

#### THE ARENA OF THE RUE MONGE IN PARIS.

BY J. PIERCE, ESQ.

It is to be hoped that the excavations which are now being made in Paris, by authority of the Municipal Government, under the direction of an intelligent committee of antiquarians and engineers, of which the late distinguished historian, Henri Martin, was President, will bring to light valuable results for archæological knowledge, and afford to British visitors an additional object of much interest, not slightly connected with their own history, in that charming city.

During the period from the third to the fifth centuries of the Christian era, when Britain was most fully connected with the Roman empire, and possessed of its language, arts, and civilisation, and while its Roman provinces were a part of the great prefecture of Gaul, the city of Paris, especially during the reigns of Constantius Chlorus and Julian, was a copy of the imperial city of Rome. We have preserved to us, through its having been given over to the Abbey of Cluny, the very interesting remains of the Palace des Thermes, built by Chlorus, it is said, and improved and occupied by Julian Chlorus, reigning from A.D. 292 to 306.

The amphitheatre, which was not far distant from their palace, on the left bank of the Seine, under the hill on which the Pantheon and the Church of St. Geneviève now stand, has not been forgotten in his-



tory, although buried by earth brought from the hill above, since the beginning of the fifth century, when St. Marcel, relieving the people from the dragon of paganism, built the Church of St. Etienne, and abolished the pagan amusements of the circus.

Just south of the Jardin des Plantes, on the northern side of the Rue Monge, a large area of ground has lately been cleared of buildings, which occupies the position of the amphitheatre in part. Under the direction of the Committee above mentioned, a very considerable surface has been excavated, of 20 feet or more of earth, revealing the entrance to the arena, its outlines, and still uninjured walls on the eastern side; a portion of a theatre connected with it, the approach to it gently sloping; the passages and recesses for the retreat of attendants; a very remarkable sewer or passage-way leading towards the river; and some of the seats for spectators. Enough has been opened to show that it was a very large and well constructed building. It is of stone, like the Caen stone, in small, squared blocks about twice the size of an English brick, and like those in the lower part of the Palais des Thermes. About a bushel of bones had been found, last October, in the small space cleared, which were thought to be those of animals which had been used for food.

I have seen no mention in any English publication of these excavations, and have been informed by the French publishers, Hachette and Co., that nothing more has yet been made public in France about them than a few casual notices in newspapers. But apart from their unquestionable interest for antiquarians, they seem to have a special merit for our inquiry, for in the time when the amphitheatre existed, British soldiers were among the most chosen of those who attended the emperors, and British captives may often have taken a part in the savage exhibitions of the arena.

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The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., V.P., exhibited a collection of miscellaneous objects, and furnished the following

#### NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED.

I exhibited, in 1882, a remarkable relic of the printer's art in the earlier portion of the seventeenth century, a colophon found in Tower Street, its floral design being of hard metal set in yew. A number of proofs were printed from this colophon, and presented to members. Soon after, on the same site, amid dry rubbish and fragmentary pottery, was dug out the very interesting and remarkable roller now on the table. From its weight and running patterns it is believed to be an instrument for impressing leather hangings, both wood and metal being similar to those used in the structure of the colophon. The date is probably similar, and the ownership identical. The enriched pattern

may be imperfectly described by lines of eight diamonds and two terminal halves; the larger diamonds being wavy, in double lines, with annulets, and surrounded by a collar, also of annulets, containing a cross fleury, rayed; the smaller connecting diamonds square, with a contained decoration of half-circles and dots. The metal is a bronze; the wood yew, with a hollow iron centre for, apparently, a spindle. Length, 2 feet 6 inches; diameter, 4 inches.<sup>1</sup>

I now exhibit a group of objects connected with heat and light.—1st. Specimens of mediæval tiles. I would have these hearth-tiles, from Fenchurch Street, because connected with tongs, shovel, and snuffers from the same site. The tiles are good and interesting, because in part heraldic. A cross fleury, the fleur-de-lis semée, and lion or leopard passant. We have no means of identifying the site with any great London name; but possibly the once possessor of these relics may not have been without renown and fame. “Sic transit”, etc. The shovel and tongs are of bronze, looped for suspension, and in their long ovals demonstrate their age unmistakably as late sixteenth century. These long ovals appear repeatedly in the Venetian art-designs of the period, especially in glass stems. The same observations hold good for the moulded squares and rounds. The bronze snuffers were found with them, and appear scarcely to have been used.

Another relic connected with light is a seventeenth century tinder-box of oval iron, containing the old “steel”, or rather iron, and a bit of rough flint. On the lid is a projection for holding the home-made taper or rushlight. Another light given is of the eighteenth century, and belonged possibly to some exquisite, a Maccaroni perhaps. A tube of silver contained the material on which the smouldering fire kindled; and attached is the oval steel, removable by a spring. Dependent by silver chains is the still remaining flint or agate stone.

The second group is glass,—Venetian, Greek, Roman. The Venetian is a wheel-lock pistol-bottle in coloured glasses, painted correctly in enamel, and dated 1609. The flint is represented at full-cock, and when raised by action of the trigger, striking the edge of the wheel, and firing the weapon. It is a rare, interesting, and fine specimen of curious art.

Greek glass but a small specimen, yet very worthy. Greek and Roman artificers, and Egyptian before them, used various mordants for colouring glass. We get blues of various shades, yellows, green, dark and vivid, orange; but very, very rarely *red*. Red or ruby are the most difficult colours. Now, as then, they run into striæ; so that a pot of ruby often is unamalgamate, and yields white blotches or

<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to note that from this roller a skin of leather has been rolled in Bermondsey for the Health Exhibition, as a specimen of arras, and will be found in the exhibition made by the Leathersellers' Company in “Old London.”

lines. This may have been one reason with the ancients for dealing less frequently with this colour than the more readily diffusive blues or green. The bulb of this Greek lachrymatory is of striated, red glass,—an accident, not a design. The real ruby red is produced from oxide of gold, and yields the purple or amethystine tint marking the fulness of its beauty. The decadence of modern days is content with oxide of iron or imperfect oxide of copper. Kalproth, by analysis, resolved this ancient red to the constituents,—silex, oxide of lead, oxide of copper, oxide of iron, alumina, and lime. This pure oxide of copper retains great clearness and reflective power, and proved no bad substitute for the richer ruby.

Of glass found lately in London, I show a curiously shaped wine-bottle of the seventeenth century, coated (as many of these bottles are) with a species of friable enamel, oftentimes destroyed by inhumation, found in Petticoat Lane; and two specimens of Roman glass from Peckham, both having been unguentaries, and retaining traces of the inspissated aromatics. The first, with its handle and flat base, is of thick, black glass, shaped as an oinochoë; certainly rare, and appears with little variation of outline in the splendid volume by Sanzay. The second is of the ordinary type of perfume-bottle, of thin, green glass.

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Mr. Jarvis exhibited a Persian box of lacquered wood, painted with figures of females and scenery, and a remarkable fragment of a carved teak-wood shrine from Benares, representing a many-handed deity wearing a mask, and caressing a tortoise-goddess.

Mr. Roofe exhibited five autograph letters to Prince Rupert, connected with the civil wars, from—(1), Sir William Vavasour, 17 April 1644; (2-5), Sir Marmaduke Langdale, 21st Aug., 22 Oct. 1644; 12 Jan., 6 March 1644-5.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, made some remarks on these letters, and read a paper by Dr. Wake Smart, entitled “Notes on Nursling and on Roman Roads in the New Forest”, which, it is hoped, may find place hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Mayhew concluded his paper on “Tenby and St. David’s.”

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 7 MAY 1884.

S. I. TUCKER, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., communicated to the Meeting the reply which he had received from the Home Secretary to the resolution of condolence with Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family, passed at a previous Meeting.

The following Associates were elected unanimously :

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's  
 Alfred Carpenter, Esq., M.D., Duppas House, Croydon  
 Herbert Fry, Esq., Beaulieu, Trinity Road, Upper Tooting  
 W. H. Richards, Esq., Mayor of Tenby.

The Ballot for the officers and Council was declared open, and taken at the close of the usual interval with the following result :

**President.**

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

**Vice-Presidents.**

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.; THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G., F.R.S.; THE EARL OF CARNARVON; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE VERY REV. THE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, DEAN OF WORCESTER; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L.; SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, Bart.; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; SIR W. W. WYNN, Bart., M.P.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., F.S.A.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM  
 W. C. BORLASE, M.P., F.S.A.  
 H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. SCOT.  
 JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 A. W. FRANKS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 GEORGE GODWIN, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.  
 THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
 REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.  
 REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
 C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.  
 E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.  
 STEPHEN I. TUCKER, Esq., *Somerset Herald*  
 JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

**Treasurer.**

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

**Honorary Secretaries.**

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.  
 E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

**Palæographer.**

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

**Curator and Librarian.**

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.  
 (With a seat at the Council.)

**Draughtsman.**

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

**Council.**

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.  
 GEORGE ADE, Esq.  
 THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.S.A.  
 CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.  
 C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
 ARTHUR COPE, Esq.  
 WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.  
 R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,  
 F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.  
 R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.  
 GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.  
 J. T. MOULD, Esq.  
 W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.  
 GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.  
 J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
 W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

**Auditors.**

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

| RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq.





Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read

THE TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
DEC. 31, 1883.

According to what was foreshadowed in my Report last year, the exceptional receipts then recorded have not been kept up in the year 1883. I have now the honour of laying before you the balance-sheet of this last year, by which it will be seen that the ordinary receipts have hardly come up to the expenditure, notwithstanding the economy practised in each section of the outgoings, and particularly in the cost of illustrations to the *Journal*, through the success of the Editor in obtaining loans of many useful blocks, and donations in aid of original drawings. The balance on 31st December last, in favour of the Association, was £152 16s., a somewhat smaller amount than that brought over from the previous year. The Congress at Dover, together with a small balance received from the Plymouth Congress, realised £67 : 14 : 6.

The prospects of the coming Annual Congress at Tenby (the forty-first) are considered satisfactory, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., our indefatigable Librarian and Congress Secretary, having recently reported from thence the arrangements now in progress there for ensuring its success.

THOS. MORGAN, *Hon. Treasurer*.

The adoption of this Report and balance-sheet having been unanimously carried, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1883.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report upon the state of the Association during the past year, 1883.

1. By comparing the list of members of the Association in the current Part of the *Journal*, dated 31 March 1884, representing the strength of the Association at the close of 1883, a total of 433 names is shown, against a slightly larger total in years immediately preceding. For the last few years, therefore, the numerical strength of the Association has evidently been stationary.

2. Biographical notices of those Associates whom we have lost by death have been promised by relatives and friends of the deceased; and when they reach the hands of the Secretary they will be printed in those parts of the *Journal* which are set apart for the object.

3. During 1883, one hundred and twenty complete works, or parts of works, relating to archæology have been presented to the Library of the Association.

4. Forty-three of the most important papers read at the recent Congress held at Plymouth, or during the progress of the sessions in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year, 1883, and illustrated with twenty-eight plates and woodcuts, some of which have been either in whole or part contributed by the liberality of some of our Associates and friends, to whom thankful recognition is due in this respect. The Honorary Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a large number of papers accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances may permit.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*  
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK }

After the moving and adoption of the customary resolutions, in which the thanks of the Association were tendered to all those who had in any way assisted its objects, the Meeting concluded with the following

#### REVIEW OF THE SESSION AND OF AN AUTUMNAL EXCURSION.

BY THOS. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

A retrospective view of the work done is not without its advantages at the end of each session; nor is it less interesting, in connexion therewith, to extend our mental vision towards the ever-widening prospect of archæology unfolded year by year through the accumulation of new material. Advances have to be made, step by step, from the known to the unknown; and as fresh discoveries are constantly adding to our stock of objects confirmatory of history, so this knowledge gradually encroaches upon the heretofore prehistoric domain. Thus, at an evening meeting in November last, Mr. W. C. Borlase, M.P., F.S.A., exhibited and commented upon a very large number of stone implements which he had collected on the continent of America and in Japan, showing both the habits of the people using these tools and weapons as well as the material of which they were formed. He very properly applied the term "non-historic" to them rather than "pre-historic", for similar implements are still in use among the native tribes side by side with European civilisation. Compare the arrow-heads, of which by far the largest portion of the collection consisted, with those found in great quantities in this country. The forms are nearly similar, though the material is different.

These arrow-heads form a link in the continuous chain of human history. Hunting has always been a favourite occupation, from the earliest times down to the date when the fine *couteau-de-chasse* exhibited by Mr. C. Brent was in use; first from necessity, and then from the love of sport. In civilised Roman Britain this is shown upon the

Samian ware, the sculptures, and the mosaics; and I cannot but think that the incredible number of flint-arrow-heads which strew our fields, and are turned up yearly by the plough, must have been used by the Romans and Romano-Britons as well as the archers of later times; for it is hardly to be supposed that metal would always have been available to tip the arrows in daily use, both for large and small game, when so good a material as flint was at hand. A piece of Samian ware was exhibited this year by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, upon which a hunting scene was depicted, the field being indented all over with what appeared to be arrow-heads, by way of ornament,—a fact suggestive, perhaps, of the great number employed in the chase. Robert Sherringham, in his interesting discussion concerning the origin of the English nation, derives the name of the Catti (a tribe in Holland) from the old Gothic word *catz* or *cacz*, signifying chase; whence the Italian *caccia*, and our English word to *catch*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. W. Myers exhibited last year a series of delicately worked arrow-heads of chipped flint from Chiusi, Cortona, and other sites. Many finely worked arrow-heads have recently been found in the neighbourhood of Horsa-ham, Sussex, shown by Mr. A. Chasemore. Mr. C. Brent also exhibited this session three palæolithic flints,—two from Reculver, and one from Canterbury; and Mr. Worthington Smith several others.

Roman remains of some importance have been reported on. Mr. C. Patrick exhibited flue-tiles and other portions of a hypocaust lately found in Paternoster Row, not far from where a fine mosaic pavement was seen and described by Mr. C. Roach Smith.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Josiah Pierce communicated the exhumation of an amphitheatre near the palace of the Emperor Julian in Paris. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth gave a particular account of a temple, theatre, and bath, at Sanxay, near Poitiers, in France, which he compared with the recent discoveries in Bath; and he has further announced the finding of important remains at Aquincum, in Hungary, which bear upon the Dacian conquests of Trajan, whose triumph, displayed around the column of marble in the Forum bearing his name, at Rome, presents us with some 2,500 human figures, together forming a perfect encyclopædia of Roman antiquities as to costume and accoutrements, which may be studied at leisure on the full-size cast of the column erected at the South Kensington Museum. Bronze instruments, celts, etc., found in the neighbourhood of St. Leonard's-on-Sea by Mr. Charles Dawson were brought to our notice by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch. Many Roman antiquities have been exhibited throughout the session by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, the Rev. Mr. Mayhew, Mr. E. Way, and others.

<sup>1</sup> *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, pp. 210-11. Cambridge, 1770.

<sup>2</sup> See *Archæologia*, xxix, p. 155.

The past year has, perhaps, been most distinguished for remains of the Anglo-Saxon period, upon which a few remarks may be offered, dividing the subject into three parts :—1, the documentary ; 2, sculptured stone memorials ; 3, goldsmiths' work, jewellery, and ornamental works of art.

1. A valuable addition to our knowledge has been made by Mr. James B. Davidson in his description of some Anglo-Saxon charters at Exeter, and in the view of some excellent photographs of the documents themselves, which were laid upon the table. The boundaries which have been omitted in former reproductions of some of them, are full of local interest ; and Mr. Davidson carefully explained the varying degrees of merit and trustworthiness of Saxon charters,—a subject of general interest to all students of history. This class of documents has been rendered more accessible by the editing of a great number by Mr. W. de Gray Birch in his well known *Cartularium Saxonicum*.

2. In sculptured stones, Mr. Romilly Allen has brought many before us in a practical form through the medium of well executed drawings. The carving of footprints upon stones is a subject handled by him in his paper on the Calder Stones near Liverpool, and the instances he adduces might be multiplied. The crosses at Ilkley in Yorkshire, though not unknown to the Association, have been minutely described by him with reference to the interlaced patterns upon them, and symbolical carving. The careful drawings upon them enabled us to trace the continuity of some Roman designs through after ages. Some drawings illustrative of the same subject, furnished by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., have been summarised in the *Journal*.

3. Objects in this third category have been found in the tumulus at Taplow, near Maidenhead, which has been lately dug into from the top down to the level of the ancient soil, in which a tomb was arrived at containing the remarkable objects described by Dr. Joseph Stevens. The Anglo-Saxon buckles of gold interlaced patterns, resembling some of the old Roman mosaic designs, are of excellent workmanship. The bronze bowl is quite of Roman type ; and the gold lace border of the chieftain's garment, whatever this may have been (for it has disappeared), is characteristic of Byzantine or Gothic influence. As there are no symbols of Christianity, it is conjectured that the date must be early among the Anglo-Saxon kings ; or if this chieftain were a Christian, he may have wished to avoid complications, like kings of Norway centuries later, by being buried according to the pagan ceremonial, *more majorum*.

It is to be remarked that the hill of Cuckamsley, not far off from this tumulus, still preserves, under a corrupted form, the name of Cwichehm, where, in times of peace, the people of Berkshire held their

local assemblies. Mr. Gomme<sup>1</sup> quotes an interesting charter relating the proceedings at one of these assemblies. Cwihelm and his father Kinegils had each a reign of thirty-one years. Kinegils, A.D. 610-641; Cwihelm, 641-672; and both, during their lives, had severe conflicts with the Wealas and other Christian neighbours; yet King Kinegils was baptized by Birinus, the Bishop, at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, and had Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, for his godfather. Cenwalch was driven out of his kingdom for three years by Penda of Mercia; yet he appears to have adhered to Christianity, as the year before his death he granted, by a charter still extant, privileges to the see of Sherborne, and the same year that he died made a donation of land in Duntun to Winchester Cathedral.<sup>2</sup>

It would be presumptuous, without evidence of writing or date, to assign this tomb to any one king; but the relics seem to be of somewhere about this period. The question of the right or left bank of the Thames at Taplow need, perhaps, hardly be taken into account.

In the category of Saxon ornamental objects may be placed the beautiful glass drinking-cups found in fragments in the tombs; the shape of these has been restored. The drinking-horn with metallic mountings is such as was used by the northern nations, and will have reminded us of similar specimens seen at the Horners' Company's Exhibition at the Mansion House in 1882, promoted by the Master of that Company, Mr. W. H. Compton, a member of the Council of this Society.

Mr. B. Ferrey's paper on symbolism in early and mediæval art leads us to that ingenious emblematic and heraldic design on the reverse of the second great seal of Henry IV, which is said to be the richest in subjects of any of the mediæval great seals. Mr. Alfred B. Wyon, who, in bringing this and other seals to our notice, has treated the subject in a comprehensive manner, shows by the dates of its use that the three fleurs-de-lis adopted by the French King in place of the *lis semés* over the field, were adopted also by Henry IV in his quartering of the French arms. This is new, as the change in England had been supposed to have taken place later.

Among a vast number of miscellaneous articles was a small sculptured stone exhibited by Mr. W. H. Cope, representing a human figure under an arch, having the crescent moon displayed at the back of his head, and the left foot resting on the neck of a bull. The inscription, in Greek, records the dedication by the donor of this votive offering, who seems to have been cured of the gout or some other ailment in the foot. The place where it was found is not known; but an interest

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Folk-Moots*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> See the charters in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Nos. 26 and 27.



of no ordinary kind is given to it by the history and interpretation of the inscription by Mr. Cecil Smith of the British Museum, as well as a notice of the domicile in Phrygia of the god to whom it was dedicated.

A record has been sent by Mr. C. Roach Smith of a find of some 836 Roman coins in Cobham Park, Kent, discovered in the spring of 1883, which are remarkable both for their excellent preservation and for the very limited range of the coins as regards time; that is, from Constantine the Great, 306, to Decentius, 353. This fact leads Mr. Roach Smith to suppose that they "must have formed part of the vast stores sent by Magnentius from Gaul, probably not long anterior to his overthrow" in 353.

A paper by Dr. Phené, giving an account of a ramble in North Wales, and another by our old friend Mr. Matthew H. Bloxam on the Pillar of Eliseg at Llangollen, may remind us of the agreeable Congress we had there in 1877, to be followed this year by one at Tenby in South Wales, which we have every reason to believe will prove equally successful. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, in reading a paper at our last evening meeting, on St. David's Cathedral and its vicinity, has excited our interest already in favour of Tenby and the county of Pembroke.

It would seem wanting in courtesy to the gentlemen who kindly gave up their time in describing all the main features of interest in the places in and about London, visited by a few of our members on the 22nd and up to the 25th October last (both days inclusive), if no notice were taken of the excursion. It was planned in a semi-official manner, and could only be joined by a few, therefore no authentic record of it exists on the proceedings of the Association; and for this reason, with your permission, I will say a few words upon the autumn excursion of 1883.

The *adlytu* of the Record Office in Fetter Lane are not often visited by any but the initiated; however, through the kindness of Mr. Kingston and his coadjutors, our party was allowed to fill a not very large room in which were displayed and explained some of the most interesting documents in the national collection. Nor can I refrain from noting down some of them. First and foremost is the great *Domesday Book*, and the smaller quarto containing the counties omitted in the other, that is Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; a book of *Domesday* excerpts finely illuminated; treaty between Francis I and Henry VIII, 1527; indenture of Henry VII as to the foundation of his chapel at Westminster; last letter of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to Queen Elizabeth; declaration of Edward I (1301) against papal usurpations, with seals of the principal nobility of the time; the famous letter to Lord Monteagle as to the Gunpowder-Plot; declaration and confession of Guy Fawkes, signed "Guido" in a feeble, shaky hand, after he had

been upon the rack; Log-Book of the *Victory*, in which is entered first that Lord Nelson was wounded, and later on the same day, that he died on 22nd October 1805; the original letter of Lord Collingwood to the Admiralty, bearing the same date, to announce Lord Nelson's death; a book of Mary Queen of Scots' letters; a book of arguments as to her right to the English throne; death-warrant by Richard III for the death of Buckingham, in a scribe's handwriting; and below, a most interesting note, in the King's own hand, as to expediting the execution; coronation-oath signed by Queen Anne; deed of Alphonso, King of Castille, bearing date 1st Nov. 1254, by which he refers to having knighted our King Edward I, his brother-in-law, and makes over to him all claims which Alphonso or his family might have over the kingdom of Gascony; and the deed is signed by three of the Moorish vassals of the said King, and grandees of the kingdom. It bears a large seal of solid gold, and in the centre of the deed the arms are emblazoned.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Patrick described the Rolls Chapel, built by Inigo Jones in 1617, with its interesting monuments.

In the wall of a house in Fetter Lane, opposite the Record Office, is a tablet with the following inscription:

"Here liv'd  
John Dryden y<sup>e</sup> poet.  
Born 1631. Died 1700.  
Glorious John."

Passing under an arch surmounted by the Lamb and Flag, the emblem of the Middle Temple, we make our way to the fine hall of the Benchers with its timbered roof and magnificent oak screen of the time of Queen Elizabeth, before whom was, perhaps, performed on this spot Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.<sup>2</sup> The arms of the Benchers, in coloured glass, adorn the windows; and there are white marble busts on pedestals, at the end of the room, of the Prince of Wales, Lord Eldon, and one other illustrious Bencher.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same deed referred to in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, xxxv, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> "There is preserved a curious notice of the performance of *Twelfth Night* before the Benchers of the Middle Temple, in their beautiful hall, nearly the only building now remaining in London in which it is known that any of Shakespeare's dramas were represented during the author's lifetime. The record of this interesting occurrence is embedded in the minutely written contemporary diary of one John Manningham, a student at that Inn of Court, who appears to have been specially impressed with the character of Malvolio. This representation of *Twelfth Night* took place at the Feast of the Purification, February 2nd, 1602, one of the two grand festival days of the lawyers, on which occasion professional actors were annually engaged at the Middle Temple, the then liberal sum of £10 being given to them for a single performance."—*Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, p. 127, by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Passing through the apartments of this noble establishment, we made our way to the Temple Church, where Mr. Brock gave an account both of its history and architecture, regretting that in the restoration so many ancient monuments were cleared away from the walls for the sake of the uniformity of the architecture. The removed monuments have, however, been placed inside the ambulatory which surrounds the circular nave, and where, by ascending a flight of steps, they can be well seen.

Passing the Temple Gardens, the words of Shakespeare will occur to the memory, as alluding to the red and white roses growing there :

“The brawl to-day,  
Grown to this faction in the Temple Garden,  
Shall send, between the red rose and the white,  
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.”

*Henry VI, Act II, Scene 4.*

We were next introduced to the Savoy Chapel by the Rev. Mr. White, the Chaplain, and the edifice and foundation were fully described by the Rev. Mr. Loftie, F.S.A., who has written a book upon this ancient manor, originally bought by Queen Eleanor of Savoy, who gave it to her son Edmund Earl of Lancaster. In the reign of Henry VII it was made a hospital for the poor. Wicliffe preached here, supported, as he was, by the house of Lancaster.

Not far off is the famed Roman bath, still filled with water ; and adjoining it another made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and supplied from the same abundant springs. The latter is used as a bath to this day.

The season of the year was not the best for visiting Epping Forest, yet the 23rd of October was the day fixed for a pilgrimage to this charming woodland of about 7,000 acres, unenclosed ; now secured for the recreation of the people. It once formed part of Waltham Forest. Several points of archæological interest were noted. To the eastward, on leaving London, the once famous Barking Abbey was referred to, founded by Erkenwald, Bishop of London, for Benedictine nuns ;<sup>1</sup> his sister, Ethelburga, being the first Abbess. Destroyed by the Northmen, it was rebuilt and refounded by King Edgar. A long list of royal and noble ladies are on the roll of this once wealthy community. The church of Barking, in the City of London, derives its name from this Abbey, the nuns of which held the advowson of the church and adjoining chantry chapel on Tower Hill.

Proceeding towards Epping, Queen Elizabeth's Lodge at Chingford is arrived at, where that mighty Princess enjoyed the rural pleasures

<sup>1</sup> See his grant in full, A.D. 695, printed in the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Part II, No. 87.

of the country and the woods. At High Beech the view extends to Waltham Abbey, visited by this Society on a former occasion; and not far off is Copped or Copt Hall; the present house built in 1749, but the former one famous as the scene of Princess Mary's detention during the earlier years of Edward VI. The Abbots of Waltham formerly had a manor-house here; and near the south-eastern corner of the park, at about a hundred yards distance from the road, is the entrenchment called Ambresbury or Ambrey's Banks, which was examined, and various opinions expressed as to its origin. It is of an irregular figure; rather longer from east to west than in the other direction, and covers nearly twelve acres, on a gentle declivity to the south-east. It is surrounded by a ditch and high bank. The boundaries between the parishes of Waltham and Epping run exactly through the middle of this entrenchment. It has been thought that this was the encampment of the Trinobantes, mentioned by Cæsar, and occupied by him after his second invasion. It has also been supposed to have been the place of encampment of the British Queen Boadicea.

Not far off is Chipping Ongar, a town standing within an ancient entrenchment, which, like that at Castle Acre in Norfolk, was probably occupied before the Conquest. The church walls contain Roman tiles. For the curious ceremonies performed here at the warding and watch of the Ward Staff, see Morant's *Essex*, vol. i, p. 126. They were continued up to the time of Elizabeth.

A mile west of this place is the church of St. Andrew, at Greensted,<sup>1</sup> built of timber, and erected, as is said, in about A.D. 1013, as a resting-place for the body of the murdered St. Edmund until it was afterwards conveyed to its shrine at Bury.

Mr. B. Winstone acted as *cicerone* to the Forest, through a country with which he is intimately acquainted.

The next day was also filled up by a country ride to Harrow-on-the-Hill, a place which calls up reminiscences of many poets and scholars who have mused and wandered in the haunts of a Byron and a Robert Peel. The School was founded by John Lyon in 1571, who died on 3 October 1592, if I have rightly noted the dates from the learned Registrar, Mr. W. Winckley, F.S.A., who furnished us with many interesting particulars of this venerable foundation. Great attention was also shown us by the Rev. Dr. Butler, the distinguished Head Master, and Mons. Masson; and after inspecting the church and its famed churchyard, we carried away many agreeable recollections of our day at Harrow.

The fourth day crowned our autumnal excursion. We assembled at the British Museum, and were conducted by Dr. Bond, Mr. Reed, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. v, pp. 1-6.

Mr. Cecil Smith, up the grand staircase to the department of Greek and Roman antiquities on the first floor. The addition of new buildings, and the evacuation of many rooms which formerly held the natural history collections, have enabled the authorities to keep pace with the increasing demands of the nation for antiquarian knowledge; and a valuable addition for the comparison of ancient implements, dresses, arms, and customs, will be found in the series of such objects from the islands and uncivilised portion of the globe, to which the Christy Collection from Victoria Street is added. This is now being arranged and classified by Mr. Franks, and when completed will form a museum of ethnology without a rival. Due attention was, however, on this occasion directed to objects of the more civilised nations; and the two rooms filled with Greek vases are, perhaps, the best school in the world for studying the development of the potter's art from the earliest times. This fine collection has been accumulated through a series of years since Sir W. Hamilton's collection was purchased in 1772, to which a few were added by the purchase of the Towneley antiquities in 1814, that of Lord Elgin's antiquities in 1816, and the bequest of Mr. R. Payne Knight in 1824. In 1836 a number of fine vases were purchased at the sale of the celebrated collection of the Chev. E. Durand; and again, in the following year, at the sale of the Prince of Canino's vases. In 1843 a hundred selected vases, principally from Vulci in Etruria, were purchased from the Princess di Canino. The most remarkable accessions which have taken place since this period are the vases from Athens and the Greek islands, purchased from Mr. Thomas Burgon in 1842; those from Camirus, a site in the island of Rhodes, purchased from Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti in the years 1859 to 1864; those from the sale of the Pourtales antiquities in 1865; the great Blacas collection in 1866; and the Castellani collection in 1873. The collection made in Cyprus by General L. P. di Cesnola, and those acquired by Mr. R. H. Lang from that island, contributed several valuable specimens to the archaic classes. Nearly all the vases in the Museum, we are told, come from tombs in Italy, Sicily, Athens, Corinth, the Greek islands, including pre-eminently Rhodes, and Cyprus and the Cyrenaica.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Cecil Smith pointed out with much care the progressive development of the painting upon these vases, from the first rude designs, as meanders, stars, lozenges, and other ornaments, arranged in concentric bands; then vegetable forms and marine objects, with a figure considered to bear a resemblance to the cuttle-fish; till finally animal, and then human forms are attempted. These are at first very rude, as in the archaic Athenian pottery which Mr. Newton attributes to a

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for these particulars to an account of the vases in *The Builder*, vol. xlii, p. 569.



period between 700 and 500 B.C. (Cases 14 to 19.) In this section is the celebrated large *lebes*, or bowl, discovered at Athens, in a tomb, by the late Mr. T. Burgon. It is figured in Dr. Birch's *History of Ancient Pottery*, p. 184. The ground is of a pale fawn, the figures of a light maroon colour. In the next period, from 500 to 440 B.C., the figures are in black, white, and crimson, on a red ground. The best period, in which we have the beautiful Panathenaic amphoræ, extends in time between 440 and 330 B.C. The figures are red, on a black ground. Upon over ninety vases are inscribed the names of the artists, which have been thus immortalised.

In the second vase-room it is seen that art is beginning to decline. The designs are more pretentious. Gold, white, and colours, are introduced. The subjects of all these vases form a complete, illustrated, mythological dictionary, and the classical student may here draw his knowledge from the fountain-head.

Among the miscellaneous objects in these rooms, the Etruscan helmet of B.C. 474, of Hiero I, found at Olympia, should be noticed as one of the earliest specimens of Greek palæography. A head of Venus in bronze, and a small head of Sleep, with a pair of wings, are singularly beautiful.

The Roman department is too rich in objects to particularise. We noticed two bridal caskets in metal, such as are not often seen, and terra-cotta lamps impressed with the P.  
X.

Two rooms dedicated to Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon antiquities show the progress of art in our own land. In the latter room, by permission of the authorities, a series of lectures has been given by Professor J. Frederick Hodgetts, late of Moscow, on the antiquities contained in it. He vindicates the idiosyncrasy of the English tongue as well as the native poetry and arts, finding in them all much of the Scandinavian element, and vindicates our race from the imputation that all our civilisation has come from the south.<sup>1</sup> He dwelt particularly on the poems of Beowulf and Caedmon, and the prose of *The Saxon Chronicle*, fine copies of which three works were placed here out of the Museum Library by permission of Dr. Bond. The Runic letters of the northern races were also touched upon.

Our space will only allow a slight reference here to the many treasures pointed out, as the collection of Italian majolica ware, extending in time from A.D. 1480 to 1550, in which Roman mythology prevails, with a preponderance of yellow in the colouring. In the next class, from about A.D. 1560 to 1580, the art degenerates. Then the German stone-ware forms an interesting series; and the Slade and Henderson

<sup>1</sup> The Lectures have been published in the work, *Older England*, by J. Frederick Hodgetts, Late Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Imperial College at Moscow. Demy 8vo.

collections show glass-manufacture from the earliest period to the finest Venetian.

We must now hurry to the Library and MSS., through galleries lined with the large series of sketches by Raffaele and Michael Angelo, executed by a photographic process from the originals, and through the King's Library, where were displayed the original "H. B." political caricatures. Mr. E. Maunde Thompson and Mr. W. de Gray Birch, *Hon. Secretary*, in the Manuscript Department, took much pains in explaining some of the most interesting of the Ashburnham MSS., which were placed out for our inspection, that portion of them known as the Stowe Collection having been purchased by the nation. This is a valuable addition to the illustration of English history. Among the most interesting were a Saxon charter of the seventh century,<sup>1</sup> and a book of Saxon charters of the eighth and ninth; a letter in French, in the handwriting of Henry IV of England, as Earl of Derby, for some cloth to be furnished for his use; Hampden's letter refusing to pay ship-money; one of Arabella Stewart, with curious postscript; another of Queen Elizabeth as to the custody of Mary Queen of Scots; account of a new invention of a paddle-ship in 1537; letter of Lord Salisbury on the Gunpowder Plot, 1605; Register of Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, with date of eleventh century. These are by no means all the most important of the collection.

Among the Ashburnham MSS. which have not been purchased are some exquisite gems of art. The following may be named:

"Horæ B. Virginis." The Albani Missal, with paintings by Perugino and others.

"Horæ B. Virginis", of Lorenzo de Medici, 1485.

French Psalter of fourteenth century, containing a portrait of Louis IX (Saint) on his deathbed.

"Horæ B. Virginis", of fifteenth century, which belonged to Elizabeth of York.

A pictorial Italian Life of Christ, full of very beautiful designs, fourteenth century; and with a continuation containing the Life of St. Francis.

Among the printed books of the Museum, the catalogue of which (in manuscript), filling some 2,000 volumes, we shall probably soon have condensed in print to about 250, Mr. Bullen showed us, among other rare editions, an Antwerp Bible, printed on vellum (1471), with a dedication to Philip II of Spain; also a Coverdale Bible dated 1537.

My description must now be broken off, and the excursion concluded, by a visit to St. James' Palace, full of historical memories, to be stored

<sup>1</sup> Grant of Wihtried, King of Kent, to the church of Lyminge, bearing date 697. The whole text is given in the *Cartul. Saxon.*, Part III, No. 98.

up with those of Windsor and Hampton Court Palaces, which on a former occasion, by special authority, we had the privilege of visiting.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, described at some length the proposed arrangements in connection with the Congress to be held during the summer at Tenby.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.*

The following Associates were duly elected :

Robert Allington Long, Esq., Southwood Lodge

Grey Hubert Skipwith, Esq., Trinity College, Oxford.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned for the following presents to the Library of the Association :

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences", vol. iii, Part III.

„ „ for "Archæological Journal", vol. xl, No. 161. 1884.

„ „ for "Archæologia Æliana", vol. x, No. 1, Part 27.

*To W. Hughes, Esq.*, for "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica", vol. i, No. 5, May 1884.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced several details of the progress of Congress arrangements for Tenby in September next.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a variety of objects, chiefly mediæval, recently discovered in London excavations. Among them a pair of shears (sixteenth century), pewter spoon, knife stamped on blade [Paris], spur, salt-spoon, buckle, and glass vessels.

Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., exhibited an extensive collection of Egyptian and other antiquities recently acquired by him during a journey in the East. Among these relics were a hippopotamus of blue glazed porcelain, painted with papyrus-reeds and ornamental bands, an axe, dagger-blade with its rivets, mirrors, a *situla* with sliding handle, and a razor, all in bronze; some sandals for children; a stone pot for black pigment, or *kohl*, used at the toilet; a sepulchral figure known as *shabti*, or respondent (the Osirified figure of a deceased personage), made of sycamore-wood, with a false inscription upon it; a rare triad in bronze; the handle of an Alexandrian amphora with stamp and flower; a square stone weight from Arsinoë; a square bronze weight, with crosses inlaid in it, from Alexandria; a circular stone weight from Palestine; a glass vessel with coloured flowers in relief, made in China, to represent carved jade; a terra-cotta bust from Arsinoë, and another

from Luxor; a remarkably carved wood Egyptian sepulchral object of almost unique character, combining in one the *tat*, or Nilometer, the *nakh*, or tan emblem (life), and the dog-headed sceptre, or *uasm*, from the outer case of a royal coffin; an ivory armlet; a large piece of mummy-cloth of fine texture, enriched with a fringe; and a dried fruit of the *doum* palm from a tomb.

Mr. Lawes of Tenby made some remarks upon these antiquities, and described his excavation of a kistvaen in Pembrokeshire.

Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., and Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., made some observations on these relics.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited a considerable number of archaic Greek, Phœnician, and Cypriote terra-cotta vases of various styles, pale grey, yellow, red glaze, and painted, recently acquired by him at the second sale of the Lawrence-Cesnola Collection of Cypriote antiquities. Mr. Brent also laid on the table several pairs of earrings of fine gold, from Cypriote sepulchres, excavated by Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., our Associate, during his exploration of the Salaminian district, as described in his work, which we have reviewed in a former volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch described some of these objects.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a variety of relics recently recovered in various parts of the metropolis, and read the following descriptive notes :

#### SOME RELICS OF THE PAST RECOVERED FROM LONDON SITES.

BY REV. S. M. MAYHEW, V.P., M.A.

I have the honour of laying before the Association to-night a few notes on the following objects.

From Lime Street, a knife with pointed iron blade set in a rounded handle of ivory, but so condensed and changed in character as to resemble agate. This very ancient knife presents two features of great interest, the blade resembling others from the lacustrine dwellings of Switzerland, and having the mysterious "Fylfot" cut into the butt. That a weapon with these characteristics should have been exhumed from London is not surprising, as in other localities, and notably in Southwark Street, the remains of lake-dwellings have been determined. Also the bronze and wreathed ear of a wine-vessel, of mediæval and fine Italian workmanship, about 4 inches in length, crowned by a satyr's head, continued by grapes and leaves finely modelled.

Other two, and larger, were a few years since found in Upper Thames Street, and exhibited to the Association.

A group of Roman relics of very interesting character succeeded, from an excavation near Paternoster Row. A finely curved and deeply lined handle of a glass cantharus, of aqua-marina tint,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches from

point to point, with a small portion of the vessel attached. Two fragments of a Samian bowl with birds, animals, Priapus, etc. A disc of ivory with circles perforated, and resembling a quoit. This may have been used in a game like shovel-board, as the pattern is nearly obliterated by attrition. A long, thin, ivory knife, narrow blade, with a collar of lines and annulets, the extreme haft being cut in the fashion of a monstrous head. This knife will receive, probably, further elucidation.

A fine late Saxon bronze pin with large head, ornamented by a cross with points, wavy lines, a band, and beneath short strokes. It was found near the Temple.

A rare and beautiful hunting-knife of late sixteenth century work, found in St. Saviour's, Southwark. This work of art has lost its point, but bears on the haft, in bronze, a wolf's head; on the cross-bar two dogs' heads, and in the middle a fox's head, all in bronze. The hand-grasp is determined by Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., to be a crocodile-bone.

A large and heavy bronze ladle marked with the fleur-de-lis, from Throgmorton Street.

Two specialities remain.—A silver wine-cup, about 5 inches in greatest width by 4; of the usual fashion of late seventeenth century, with ornamental scroll-handles. We are able to supply some of the history of this cup. The marks are as follow: Q within a pointed shield; lion passant; leopard's head crowned; maker's initials, P. D.; an engraved Lombardic A; and the letter B scratched on the surface. Q is a London mark for the years 1672-4. The maker's initials answer to Peter Decoker, a banking goldsmith, who in 1672 lived in Callum Street, Fenchurch Street. The Lombardic A refers probably to the Angel hostelry, then existing in Fenchurch Street; whilst the scratched B may be the initial of the proprietor host. It is a rare, and becomes a most interesting relic when viewed by the above light. The cup has passed through fire.

A remarkable and remarkably well preserved poor's box, exhumed in Southwark from a bed of dry rubbish; and to this its preservation is doubtless owing. The box is a truncated pyramid, with a base of 8 inches square, and a height of  $11\frac{1}{2}$ . Each plane is covered with beautiful marquetry, the lid bearing the incomplete inlaying, "Remember ye Poor." Three sides have the Royal arms, the City arms, and arms of Tallow-chandlers' Company, with the crest of St. John the Baptist's head in a charger, and scrolls of palm. The front is covered by flowers, amidst which is the dove with olive-leaf, also belonging to the Tallow-Chandlers'. Above, is the inscription, "The Gift of Richard Makepeace, 1692." His gift, perhaps, to a church within the jurisdiction of the City of London, and in royal patronage. Such was the ancient



St. Olaf's, which, from decay, in the year 1730 fell down in ruin. In answer to inquiry, the Clerk of the Tallow-chandlers' Company, Edwin Bedford, Esq., kindly replies :

"I deferred replying to your favour of the 13th inst., respecting Richard Makepeace, until I had caused search to be made in our books at the Hall, which has now been done. It does not appear that he was ever on the Court of the Company ; but his name is thus entered amongst the Freemen : ' Richard Makepeace, Cabbinett Maker, liveth at the Sign of the Cradle, Jewin Street.' Had he been Alderman or Lord Mayor, there is little doubt that he would have been elected on the Court of the Company. As he seems to have been a cabinet-maker, I have no doubt the box you so well describe was his handicraft."

In this inference I quite agree ; but what connection had Richard Makepeace with Southwark, since the box was a gift, not purchased ?

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Mr. E. Walford, M.A., read a paper "On the Etruscan City of Lunnæ, near Spezzia", by Mrs. Campion, which it is hoped will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 4 JUNE 1884.

T. MORGAN, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Benjamin Winston, Esq., 53 Russell Square, London

James Early Smith, Esq., 3 Randolph Gardens, Maida Vale

Jonathan Smith, Esq., 65 Redcliffe Gardens, Brompton, S.W.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", No. I, Jan. 1884, 5th Series.

*To W. Hughes, Esq.*, for a "Facsimile of the Charter granted by King Richard III to the Worshipful Company of Wax-Chandlers of the City of London." Dated 16 Feb. 1 Richard III (A.D. 1484).

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, announced that the *conversazione* would take place this year at the Rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, on Thursday, 3rd July, to which it is intended to invite the subscribers and the members of the Association living within the metropolitan postal district.

Mr. W. H. Cope, in the absence of the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, exhibited a beautiful drawing of agate arrow-heads of Indian art, and found by Mr. Tndor in North America. The Association is indebted to the kindness of Captain Thorpe of St. Wilfrid's, Brading, for the drawing.

and to Mr. Tudor for the following notes :—“ These Indian arrow-heads were found at Flat Rock, about a mile from Hendersonville, North Carolina, a short distance from the summit of the Alleghany Mountains, known in the neighbourhood as the Blue Ridge, where a clearing of the woods had been made for cultivation. A ditch having been cut on rather a steep slope, the soil had been washed away by the heavy mountain showers, forming a deep gully; and on the sides of this gully I observed what appeared to be an arrow-head projecting from the red soil, and on closer examination found about a dozen others in a similar position, and all about 2 feet below the original surface, but apart from each other at various distances.”

Also, from London excavations, a very fine and massive *mortarium* of bronze, 23 inches in circumference, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in height; a long, slender, and peculiarly shaped iron knife, the extremity of the tang being sharply bent for the sake of acquiring firmness in setting the wooden handle; and a squared bottle with neck, of Roman glass. All from the same spot, within the City, and vicinity of Guildhall. They were found about 12 feet below the surface, in a thick layer of burned wood, *debris*, and burned and broken pottery, reduced to little bits. From this same spot two bottles of bronze, with fragments of pottery, were taken about eighteen months ago. Now we have a long knife with an elliptic groove at the haft, apparently from thence commencing an incision to be continued upwards to the point. Do these remarkable relics point to the domicile of a Roman medical practitioner destroyed in the invasion by Boadicea, or a Roman foundry, as one of the bronze bottles had evidently been thrown aside as a failure in casting, and contains still the hardened core of clay? If a foundry, the knife may have been used for cutting clay-models. At any rate, surgeon or founder, the relics possess rarity, interest, and value.

Mr. Cope also exhibited an antique bronze crocodile brought from Palestine in November last, with Roman relics of sculpture and glass. The bronze, in length, is about 6 inches, and true to character. This important relic has been thought to have a connection with the rites of the Gnostics, who are known to have been pretty numerous in Syria. The art which it exhibits is very good; but it would be difficult to fix a precise date for its production.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a black-ware patera and two light red vases, of Greek style, brought by his son, Mr. Charles Morgan, Instructor in the Navy, from about two miles out of Cagliari, near a large amphitheatre, of which Mr. Morgan exhibited a photograph.

Mr. Brock described the pottery exhibited.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a Roman consular coin and a seventeenth century French coin, found near Old Chelsea Church, in digging a garden.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, described a facsimile presented by Mr. Hughes of the charter of Richard III, as mentioned above. Mr. Birch also exhibited for the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, V.P., F.S.A., a cast silver medal commemorative of the imprisonment of the seven Bishops in 1688. Engraved from the *struck* impression with inscription on the edge, in Van Loon, iii, 339; Lochner, v, 417; Knight's *Old England*, ii, 192.

Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., read a paper on the name of a tumulus or mound near the Cedars' Road, Clapham, called

"MOUNT NOD, CLAPHAM.

"I have lately been struck by the name of 'Mount Nod Fields', as applied in some old deeds to the estate which is now the Cedars' Road, Clapham Common; and whilst considering the matter, an old map of Clapham, dating in the year 1827, came into my hands, which shows the property at that date, and on which I see that a small mound is marked as 'Mount Nod.' Hence I have been led to look about the neighbourhood, and I find that the mound still exists, and is in the garden of one of the Cedars' Road houses, now occupied by Miss Penfold, nearly opposite to St. Saviour's Church, and abutting on Wix's Lane. The situation is peculiar, and such as to demand attention. From it an extensive view would in ancient times have been had of the low lands and partial lake which covered the site of modern Battersea; and the mound stands on the summit of the elevation which rises from the Wandsworth Road. The Mount is about 900 feet from the latter Road, and about 1,050 feet from the nearest side of Clapham Common.

"I cannot find that there is any history of this curious mound; but the name is striking as indicating ancient British origin. I put it forward as a suggestion only, whether it is possible that it was an ancient British tumulus. According to Lysons,<sup>1</sup> Nudd was the British Pluto, or Setting Sun, the same as Dis, the father of the Celtæ. The Land of Nod was the country of 'the wanderer', perhaps the land of oblivion. To this land Cain fled after the murder of his brother. The god 'Nodeus', to whom altars have been found at Lydney in Gloucestershire, has been identified with Æsculapius, Apollo, Pluto, and others. The word 'Nud', 'Nod', 'Nyd', means in Hebrew or Chaldee 'to fly away', as the sun at night, 'or to depart swiftly'.

"The appearance of the Mount is quite that of an ancient tumulus, and the situation seems to give favour to the supposition, and appears to me to call for investigation.

"This property formed part of the garden of the mansion built by Sir Denis Gauden, Alderman of London, and Victualler to the Navy,

<sup>1</sup> *British Ancestors*, p. 274.

in Clapham in the time of Charles II. It was pulled down in the year 1762. Some of the rooms were wainscoted with Japan, and it contained spacious galleries, and was the residence of Sir Denis, who died in 1688, and was buried at Clapham. The house and estate were afterwards purchased by William Hewer, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Navy to King James II. Mr. Samuel Pepys appears to have resided here with Mr. Hewer, and to have collected a magnificent library, and a great number of models of ships and various curiosities. John Evelyn describes this house in his *Diary*, and states that he visited it in June 1692. He says it was very noble, and wonderfully well furnished, and the offices and gardens were well accommodated for pleasure and retirement. Pepys dates several of his letters from Clapham.

"Another house was built on this estate, which was pulled down about twenty-four years ago, when the present Cedars' Road was laid out.

"It would be interesting if it could really be proved that Mount Nod was an ancient British tumulus still existing amongst all the changes and chances through which modern Clapham has passed. I do not for one moment say it is. I only ask for discussion on the question. I should further state that there are traces of an entrance into the mound, some little way from the bottom; and the supposition is that an *ice-house* was made in it. There is a spiral path up the mound, and it is prettily planted with trees, and is a very ornamental feature in Miss Penfold's garden.

"I have taken no precise dimensions of it, but I should think there must be at least 600 loads of earth at present; but when erected it must have contained very much more. It is difficult to give the dimensions as it runs into the adjacent property. I should think, at the base, it must have been 70 to 80 feet across. The height, from Wix's Lane, may be 12 to 15 feet. A very fine elm-tree, which I should judge to be nearly one hundred years old, stands at the base, and partially on the mound.

"I am of opinion that the work deserves investigation, and I should be glad if the Association would express an opinion."

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Mr. Cope, Mr. Compton, Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, Mr. Kershaw, F.S.A., Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and Mr. Browning, took part in the discussion, pointing out the similarity of the name of the Huguenot Cemetery in Wandsworth, not far from the site of the mound itself. The feeling of the meeting was that a properly arranged investigation might lead to useful results.

In the absence of the writer, Mr. Birch read the following:—

NOTE ON THE BRITISH OPPIDUM IN THE PARISH OF MEON STOKE,  
HANTS, CALLED "OLD WINCHESTER."

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

When the Association held its Congress at Winchester, the Roman villa at Bramdean and "Old Winchester" were in the *agenda* for the week; but they were put aside for the examination of tumuli upon St. Catharine's Hill. I then lost the chance of seeing the former; and no opportunity has since occurred until recently, when in company with Mr. John Harris of Belvedere, when I was assisted by Mr. Thos. Harris of Woodlands during a visit to him. He kindly placed a carriage and guide at our service; and the weather being, fortunately, mild and warm, we accomplished our object most agreeably. We crossed the very picturesque village of West Meon into the old road to Hambledon, which for nearly two miles ascends to the summit of a range of hills terminating in "Old Winchester", which dominates a wide extent of rich country, including the parishes of Meon Stoke, West Meon, and Bramdean. The road upon which we drove is evidently of remote antiquity, and is now mostly superseded, as regards Hambledon, by one which makes a circuit in the low land.

Like most of the British *oppida*, this is an untrenched hill, the chief *vallum* being deepest on the more approachable sides, and comparatively slight on the almost inaccessible quarters where, from the steepness of the hill, attack from an enemy need not be much apprehended. The circumvallation varies from 10 to between 20 and 30 feet; and there appear to have been only two entrances, opposite each other. The area may be about 20 acres.

In a direct line, upon the summit, are some tumuli of considerable height; and there are also several on the outside of the *oppidum*, on the slope towards the Meon district. The tumuli within are certainly posterior to the occupation of the place as a residence, and may be assigned to the Belgic Britons after their subjugation by and alliance with the Romans, when these hill-fortresses would be unneeded for purposes of warfare. Some of them have been opened, or perforated rather, in a very imperfect manner.

This interesting British *oppidum*, so marked in its character, appears, like many others, to have been misunderstood. In Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> it is thus described: "On the north-east boundary of the parish (Meon Stoke) is a Roman camp called 'Old Winchester', within which a beautiful Roman lamp was discovered in 1834; and at the western entrance are several barrows, which have been opened and

<sup>1</sup> *Topographical Dictionary of England*, by Samuel Lewis, 3rd edit., vol. iii. 1843.



found to contain calcined bones, fragments of Roman pottery, and other relics."

When our friends of the Archæological Institute met at Winchester, the Rev. Chas. Moberley contributed an exhibition described,<sup>1</sup> "Roman lamp of terra-cotta found within the camp on Old Winchester Hill, near West Meon; fragments of pottery found in a barrow near the same encampment, with bones, the *favilla*, or cinders of the burnt corpse; and other remains. The earthwork appears to have been the *castra æstiva* formed by the Romans in the country of the Meanveri, a tribe commemorated in the names East and West Meon, and Meon Stoke."

Surely, if the pottery were Roman, it should have been figured or described, so as to leave no doubt about it, and the discovery of the lamp should have been authenticated. If it had been found within the *oppidum* (which I doubt), it would not be of the slightest use as evidence of the origin of what is erroneously called a Roman camp. In many instances British *oppida* were resorted to by the Romans, not for purposes of war, but for residence or burial. For example, see the discoveries made at the remarkable *oppidum* called "Maiden Castle", near Dorchester. I could not discern at "Old Winchester" the slightest trace of Roman occupation; but the country around abounds in Roman remains. Occasionally, as at Hod Hill,<sup>2</sup> near Blandford, a Roman camp is to be traced within a British *oppidum*; but the character of the Roman subjugation of South Britain renders it not only improbable, but impossible, that such a spot as "Old Winchester" should have been selected even as a temporary camp.

The name "Meon" appears to have been that of the river. Mr. W. de Gray Birch reminds me that "there is an interesting charter<sup>3</sup> which speaks of 'flumen quod appellatur *Meonea*.' The river is now called by a different name. On the Map the river takes a semicircular sweep including a large area, with Meon Stoke, East Meon, and West Meon; no doubt now isolated places of what was originally a powerful *Meon district*, or *Meonwaras*."

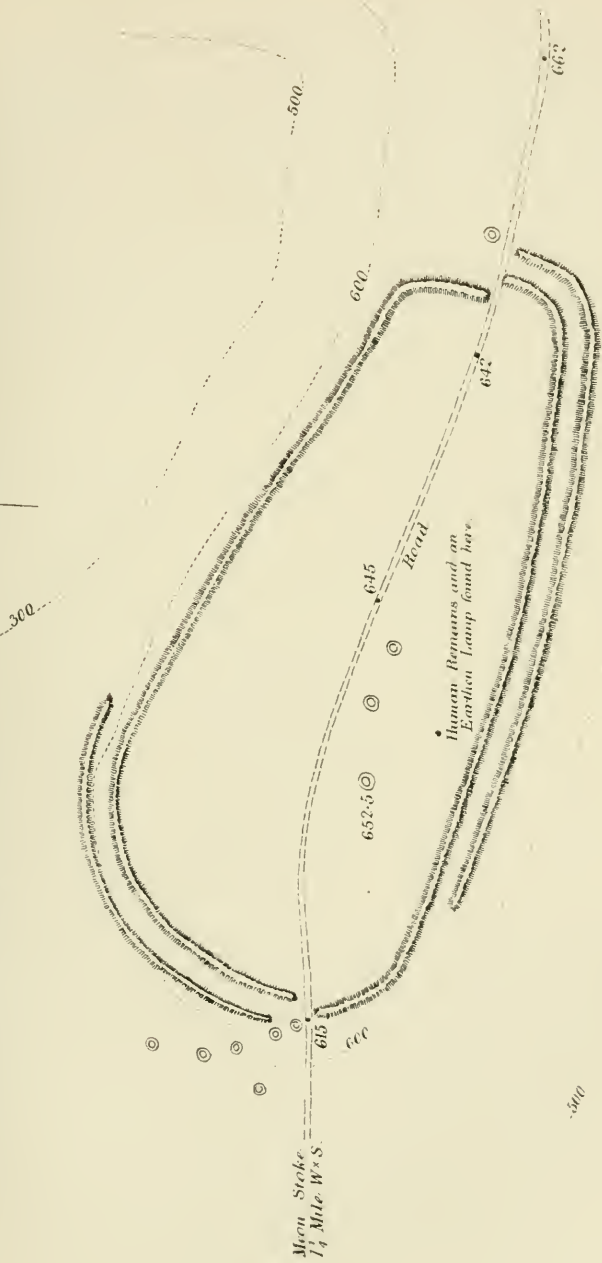
With respect to the name "Old Winchester", it is one of those popular misconceptions of which there are many examples, as in "Old Carlisle", a Roman fortified station having nothing whatever in connection with Carlisle proper beyond a road; "Old Poitiers", "Old Evreux", "Old Le Mans", etc. Most of these in France are, however, remarkable for extensive Roman ruins.

<sup>1</sup> "Proceedings" of the Annual Meeting held at Winchester, September 1845, p. xl.

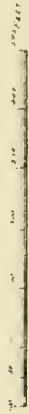
<sup>2</sup> For Hod Hill and Maiden Castle, see C. Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, which also is the best guide published to British *oppida*, and it is well illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> No. 258 of the *Cartularium Saronicum*.

# OLD WINCHESTER BANKS, HAMPSHIRE. ENLARGED FROM ORDNANCE MAPS.



600 ft  
above Sea



500



Mr. Brock read a paper :

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT CHAPEL AT DOVER.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

It will be within the memory of many now present, that during the recent Congress at Dover we had an interesting paper on the old churches of the town by the Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson. At its close a discussion ensued, in the course of which Edward Knocker, Esq., F.S.A., said he had heard of the existence of some ancient masonry behind the houses and shops in Biggin Street, not far from the Maison Dieu, which belonged possibly to one or another of the churches, the sites of which he considered were not ascertained. I learned from Mr. Knocker, after the lecture, that the remains were difficult of access, and that he had heard of them from a gentleman resident in Pencestre Street. I made it a part of my duty to this Association to survey the spot prior to my leaving the town, and I now report the result.

There is more to be traced than some mere masses of masonry. There is a small building all but perfect. The walls are intact, except that they have been cut into and altered; and the original roof, covered with tiles, remains. It is a small chapel built east and west, and measuring 28 feet in length by 14 feet in breadth. The walls are of rubble masonry, 2 feet thick, having quoins and dressings of Caen stone. There is a plain pointed western doorway of two orders, having roll-mouldings. There has been a small lancet window in the gable once, of which the jambs and sill remain. Two simple, lancet-headed windows, widely splayed, have given light on the north and south aisles alike; and the east end has had, apparently, a couple of similar windows. There are no buttresses and no ornamental portions, if we except a moulded stringcourse which has existed internally below the sills of the windows. It can be traced at intervals here and there, in mutilated condition.

The roof is of fairly high pitch, and it has had tie-beams, collars, and struts; the former having only recently been sawn through and removed when the upper part of the roof was filled up for storage purposes, lining it with match-boarding and inserting sky-lights. The present use is entirely for trade purposes. A blacksmith has the east end. Doors are broken through the walls, a fireplace erected, a division-wall inserted, new windows, and a floor over the whole. The building is hemmed in by either the backs of the shops in Biggin Street, or by the newly built shops in Priory Road, from which the blacksmith has a narrow approach to his workshop. The chapel, therefore, as a whole cannot be seen at once, and its exterior can only be made out piecemeal from the various surrounding build-

ings. It is, therefore, not at all remarkable that its existence has not been hitherto generally known. The south side is quite hidden, and it is a matter of some difficulty now to realise that this was once a detached building in full view of every passer by.

The position must have been a conspicuous one, standing at the entry of the town, at its northern or principal approach, and close under, and outside, the boundary-wall of the great Priory of St. Martin's, which was on the opposite side of Priory Road. The details of the simple architecture show clearly that the date is of the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. It has been one of the once numerous wayside-chapels; but whether or not belonging to St. Martin's Priory, probably future observations may determine. Although of such moderate dimensions, its existence is worthy of record, not only as a matter of local interest, but as an example of a class of buildings of which we possess few examples.

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In the absence of the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth, V.P., F.S.A., Mr. Birch read the following

NOTE ON AN ANCIENT HARPSICHORD, A RELIC OF TASSO  
AND HIS FAMILY.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, V.P., F.S.A.

It is well known that Tasso was a native of Sorrento, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Naples. Born A.D. 1544. A statue has been placed to him in the Market Square of that town; but there are also other more intimate memorials of the poet and his history. Tasso's sister married for her first husband Signor Sersale, and after his death was married to Signor Spatiano. There are descendants of these families still living at Sorrento; and a musical instrument resembling a piano, which belonged to the sister of Tasso, is still in existence. It bears the following inscription on the inside:

*"Tales in altis sentiunt sonos beati spiritus opus.*

*"Neapoli, anno MDLXIII."*

It will be seen that the *v* is here used for *u*, and the *o* also for the *u*. This interesting relic now numbers its three hundredth year. When it is opened for playing there is seen a painting of Apollo and the Muses. The figures are wonderfully fresh. The interior of the instrument is beautifully carved and ornamented with mother-of-pearl, and painted with the Graces. The notes are of wood. But this relic is now voiceless, the strings having been left to decay.

The tradition preserved in the family is that Tasso being put under confinement by Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, in the Convent of St. Francis, under the plea of insanity, escaped from thence, and made his way



alone, and chiefly on foot, to Naples, and from thence to Sorrento, taking refuge at the house of his sister, then a widow. This was in the summer of 1577. He lived to A.D. 1595, when he died at Rome, at the age of fifty-one, in the Convent of St. Onofrio, where the room occupied by him is still shown, and his figure depicted on the wall, and his grave is marked by the inscription, HIC IACET TORQVATVS TASSVS. There is a recent monument erected to his memory, which bears his effigy, but is executed in very bad taste. The situation of the Convent in the Transtevere is very beautiful, and the building contains some frescos by Dominichino.

The house in which he was born at Sorrento has long disappeared; but the hotel which occupies its site is known as the "Albergo Tasso." The mother of the poet was a Sorrentine.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 189.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1883.

THE route taken by the members and visitors to-day was of varied and general interest. Leaving Dover at an early hour, the company proceeded to Westenhanger, and thence to Lyminge, the site of the most ancient church in this part of Kent, an account of which was given by the Rev. Canon Jenkins, M.A., Vicar.

Ethelburga, the only daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha, on her return to Kent after the death of her husband, King Edwin of Northumberland, in the battle of Heathfield, obtained from her brother Eadbald the site of the Roman villa of Lyminge, upon which she founded her nunnery, and where she was veiled by Archbishop Honorius in 633. She died as Abbess of it in 647, and was buried "in the north aisle" of her church, "against the south wall" of the present building, which was erected by St. Dunstan on the dissolution of the Monastery of Lyminge in 965. The unique masonry of the chancel and south wall indicates his restoration. During the fifteenth century the north aisle (between the years 1454 and 1480, under Cardinal Bouchier) and the tower (from 1486 to 1520, under Cardinal Morton and Archbishop Warham, whose arms are on the sides of the west door) were added to the older part of the building; the original tower having been on the north-west side, the site of it being included in the aisle. The charters relating to the church extend from 696 to 965, and include some of the earliest and most authentic of the Anglo-Saxon series. The manor and advowson were surrendered by Cranmer to Henry VIII in 1546, and conferred upon Sir Anthony Aucher, the Master of the Jewels. The original church was called "The Basilica of St. Mary, the Mother of God, in Lyminge." The dedication of the present one is to St. Mary and St. Eadburg. The church is a valuable one in point of architecture, and contains specimens of the different periods down to the Perpendicular style. There is a very fine spring of water near the church, which flows out of the rock.

The remains of Roman walls were inspected in some excavations made by Canon Jenkins to the west of the church, just outside the churchyard, where a large semicircular apse has been laid bare, going westward. There are, in addition, the remains of a small, church-like structure on the south side of the nave, parallel to it, consisting of a small nave and a chancel ending in a semicircular apse. The walls are composed almost entirely of Roman bricks; and although the work is of different construction from the other walls excavated, and apparently later, yet all the walls laid bare appear to be of Roman work. There is no difficulty in assigning the western portion of the remains to a Roman villa; but there was much discussion as to the appearance of the remainder. The whole of the churchyard appears to be the site of a large building, for traces of walls have been found in many places.

The next place visited was Westenhanger House, better known by its legendary, historical associations as "Fair Rosamond's Bower." The structure is said to have been built, originally, where at one time there existed a castle erected by one of the Saxon kings of Kent. The deep, broad moat which surrounded it has in places disappeared, and only small vestiges of the high, massive, and embattled walls remain. There is no foundation for the legend with regard to "Fair Rosamond", which applies to one of the towers of the Castle, where, it is said, the beautiful mistress of Henry II was concealed prior to her removal to Woodstock. The Castle appears to have passed from the hands of Bertram de Criol, "the Great Lord of Kent", to one of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and afterwards to Henry VIII, each of whom added to its attractiveness. The latter Sovereign is said to have made use of it as a royal residence. The remains of a fine entrance-gateway were inspected, which had been vaulted with cross-ribs. Nothing remains of the chapel, which is referred to as having been a building of more than ordinary beauty by more than one local historian.

A very instructive visit was now paid to Lympne Church and the ruins of the Castle, which were described by the Vicar, the Rev. H. B. Biron, M.A., and which were approached by the ancient Roman military road known as "Stone Street." Like Richborough, this locality is connected with the early history of our island. It was known to the Romans as the *Portus Lemanus*, and was the only harbour possessed by them on this part of the coast.

The old, castellated manor-house, close to the church, which stands on the summit of a prominent hill, is now occupied as a farm-house. The old arrangement of an entrance-hall with an arched, open roof of timber, can be traced in the modern rooms of the upper floor. There is a bold, circular tower to the west of the range of buildings said by the local historians to stand on a base of Roman work. Nothing of so old a date is, however, visible.

Many of the party descended the hill, and under the guidance of Mr. George Dowker inspected the remains of the old Roman station known as Studfall Castle. The walls are very much dilapidated. This, however, is not owing to natural decay, but to landslips which evidently occurred many years ago. Many discoveries have been made here, by excavating among the ruins, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, and whose work on Lympe, Reculver, and Richborough, is so well known by antiquaries.

The church, which is a building consisting of two aisles with chancel and tower, was built by Archbishop Lanfranc. The original building consisted, as was pointed out by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, of a small nave and chancel, with a square tower over the junction of nave and chancel, as at Ilfley and elsewhere. Only the tower remains, the rest of the building being very plain, early thirteenth century work. Much of the work of this period in East Kent is also remarkable for the same characteristic.

On the return journey the members of the Association halted at Hythe, where luncheon was served at the Swan Hotel. After luncheon, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, summoned the party to proceed to the parish church, where Mr. H. B. Mackeson read some extracts from the Registers and deeds concerning its foundation; and afterwards visited the curious crypt, now used as a charnel-house, and filled with skulls piled in regular order, and with great care, on either side. No authentic account is given of the origin of this weird collection; but it is supposed they were removed from a neighbouring cemetery, and that they are the remains of some of the Saxon or Danish invaders who were engaged in battle somewhere near these shores, who were slaughtered here in large numbers by the Saxons, whose lands and buildings they had come over to ravage and destroy. The fabric and crypt were explained by the Vicar.

From Hythe the party proceeded direct to Folkestone, time not permitting the proposed halt at the noble earthwork known as "Cæsar's Camp", though it was pointed out to the members as the carriages passed by the celebrated spot.

The third evening meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*. The first paper was one which had been left over from the previous evening, "On the Saxon Church in Dover Castle", by Mr. J. T. Irvine, in whose absence it was read by Mr. Lynam. Mr. Irvine referred at considerable length to details of the masonry and the substructure of the old church, as supplied by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Gilbert Scott. In his opinion the church belonged to the Saxon period, and he pointed out that there was a great similarity in the structure to the church of Stone, near Faversham.

The paper went on to show that no evidence could be found of work at the church which was likely to have been carried out before 990 ; and the square windows would indicate a later date, at about 1050.

After the reading a discussion took place. The general opinion was that the structure was of older date than the period stated in the paper.

The Rev. H. T. Craig, Chaplain, Dover Castle, asked, if the building were Saxon, how they could account for the use in it of a large number of tiles which must have been manufactured in the times of the Roman occupation ?

Mr. Brock said, in his own opinion, the church belonged to an earlier date than that assigned to it by the author of the paper.

Mr. Lynam said, as a matter of fact, these tiles were found in Saxon and Norman work. Only that day they had seen some in the church at Lympne.

Colonel Goodenough, R.A., said it might not be known to many present that a careful description of the church had been written, attributing its erection to the British-Roman period ; and there were a great many persons living here who had been long regarding it as such. It was extremely rare to find in any Saxon building arches of the great height of those which were found in this church. These resembled very closely the arches found in the old Basilicas ; and he thought there were many people who would be loth to give up the belief they entertain, that the church is older than Saxon, and dates back to the period of the first, and not the second, establishment of Christianity in England.

Mr. Lynam said he had noticed a similar arch in a church in Shropshire.

Mr. George Dowker then proceeded to read a paper on "Debatable Subjects relative to Richborough Castle." This paper will be printed hereafter in our *Journal*.

Discussion ensued as to the block of masonry found inside Richborough Castle ; and commenting upon this, Mr. Brock said it was impossible at present to give a decided opinion as to what it had been, although he was certain it had not formed the foundation of any building. It consists of an apparently solid block of masonry so many feet in depth as to preclude this idea, the earth being as good for a foundation near the summit as it is at its base. The generally received opinion of this piece of masonry is that it was the base of a Pharos ; and this was mentioned particularly by Mr. Wright, F.S.A., at Richborough Castle, when referring to the papers on the subject in the first volume of our *Journal*, and to Boys and other well known explorers of this grand piece of Roman work.



THURSDAY, AUGUST 23,

Was the first of the two days devoted to an examination of the antiquities of Canterbury, in which ancient and historic city the first Congress of the British Archæological Association was held forty years ago, as has already been noticed. The Mayor of Dover and Mrs. Dickeson, Sir James Picton, Mr. Brinton, M.P., and Mr. Mackie, M.P., were among the visitors. In the centre of the Guildhall were laid out the regalia belonging to the Corporation, including the handsome gold mace, the civic sword, silver candelabra, etc.

The Mayor of Canterbury (A. J. Beer, Esq.), who was clad in his official robes, and supported by many members of the Corporation, warmly welcomed the archæologists to the ancient city; and in the name of the Society, Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, acknowledged the cordial reception given them by his Worship, remarking that it was in that city, in the year 1844, that the Society first drew breath.

Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A., then spoke upon the regalia exhibited. Referring first to the mace, he said there was a good type of mace at Tenterden and Rye, and various other parts throughout the United Kingdom, Yarmouth and other boroughs, as they had seen them. Mayors had these maces, as well as other regalia, to carry, in order to show the importance of the office which they filled; because in those days, as now, the Mayor of a city or town was the representative, to a certain extent, of the Sovereign, and therefore ought to have the respect of all for that which he did. When Charles II landed at Dover, these maces were crowned to show respect for the Sovereign. They found this large type of mace commencing about the time of Charles II. He believed that the actual mace of the House of Commons, which was said to be the mace now the property of the College of Physicians, was the largest and longest mace ever known; and the mace of the City of London was so long (something over 6 feet) that it could not be got inside a carriage. The Canterbury sword was a very fine piece of the regalia. Probably the Archbishops of Canterbury in days gone by, represented by St. Dunstan, had the power of life and death; and this sword represented the authority which the Bishop or Mayor in those days held in this fine old city. Coming to the candelabra, etc., Mr. Lambert said the date of the snuffer-tray was 1771, and the snuffers, 1815; the candelabrum, 1809; the waiter, 1781. The mace was made by a man who signed his name, F. G., and he hoped on a future occasion to give the name.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., described the ancient charter of



Henry II, and its exemplification by Henry III, granting extensive and valuable immunities to the city, which it enjoys to this day, and expressed a hope that the greatest care would always be taken to preserve so valuable an original record of paramount importance to the city. Mr. Birch then pointed out the interesting details of several of the seals, and read a short paper upon two seals bearing representations of the Cathedral of Canterbury, older than any other drawing of the Cathedral now extant. The first of these, from an impression attached to a charter dated 1102 (among the Campbell collections of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum), shows a thatched roof surmounted by a central tower, two small side-chapels, and in the fore part a tower joined by a wall to two smaller towers. The speaker asserted that this primitive figure of a church was intended to represent, and in a general way did represent, the principal and salient architectural features of the Cathedral church about the time, and before the time, of the dated document which bears the seal; for it would be impossible to believe that the Cathedral authorities would have ever used a seal bearing the figure of an edifice manifestly unlike the sacred pile under the very shadow of which the seal was continually employed.

The second seal (of the latter half of the twelfth century), in point of style and workmanship, exhibits a great architectural advance. In this we have a fully detailed view, apparently from the south, of the church, showing two towers at the west end, two at the east end, with apse beyond, a taller central tower enriched with arcading in two stories, a clerestory along the nave, and another along the southern aisle at a lower elevation. The south transept is foreshortened, and has a triangular pediment lighted by three windows; and the architecture of its lower face has been removed to enable the designer to introduce a figure of St. Thomas, then the recently martyred Archbishop. The roof of every tower is pent, and marked with lines to represent thatch or shingling. On the centre spire is a vane like a four-winged bird; on each of the two western towers a cock; on the two eastern towers, each a cross and banner-flag.

In illustration of the art of the English seal-engraver, who in the twelfth century does not appear to have been subject to conventional rules when engaged in representing monastic and ecclesiastical edifices, Mr. Birch exhibited casts of the seals of Bath Abbey, Chichester Cathedral, Ankerwic Priory, Leedes Priory (co. Kent), Battle Abbey, Norwich Cathedral, the first and second seal of Llandaff Cathedral, and St. Paul's Cathedral. Of this last building, the representation on the seal agrees in a remarkable manner, so far as general appearance goes, with the three curious sketches of the Cathedral recently found by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., Librarian of St. Paul's,

on the margins of early MSS. in the British Museum and at Lambeth Palace Library, and published in the *Journal* of the Association, xxxvii, p. 91.

Sir James Picton expressed to the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury, on behalf of the members and visitors of the British Archaeological Association, their sense of the courtesy and kindness shown them on this occasion. He dwelt upon the great antiquity of Canterbury, and said that if it was not the very oldest city in England, it was next to Winchester, the oldest; and the metropolitan see being situate there, gave it the most prominent place of any city in England. They were pleased to see that at this late period of its history the respect and credit of the Corporation were still most worthily maintained. They should always look with respect and admiration upon the history of an ancient and loyal city like Canterbury,—a place which was a credit to the kingdom, and tended to carry our minds back to the ancient history of our country, fraught as it was with recollections and associations of the highest and noblest character.

After examining the ancient burgh mote-horn in the Guildhall, and other curiosities, the party proceeded to the Cathedral, where the members were met by Archdeacon Harrison, who conducted them over the edifice; a history of its foundation and development being given by Canon Fremantle and the Archdeacon, and its architectural features pointed out by Mr. Brock. The architectural history of the Cathedral is so well known that it is unnecessary to say anything respecting it on this occasion. Perhaps the most peculiar detail was the carved pillars in the crypt, of Roman-like workmanship, enriched with twisted lines and flowing scrolls of simple foliage. Mr. Brock thought the pillars themselves, and the others corresponding to them, might have been conveyed or utilised from the ruins of a Roman temple, or they might have been worked by Italian sculptors in Prior Conrad's time. The carving of the capitals had been done by different hands, in a style similar to what is found in other ornate works of the twelfth century in England. The capitals were originally plain, bell-shaped masses, of the eleventh century, of Caen stone, different from the hard material of the columns. The unfinished state of the carving upon one of the capitals shows that the ornamentation must have been executed *in situ* on the older work.

Mr. Brock prefaced his remarks by calling attention to Eadwine's ancient drawing of the Cathedral, now at Cambridge, made probably between the years 1130 and 1174. It is an elevation and plan combined, so to speak; and it is equally valuable as an architectural drawing of that early period as it is to show the design of the building as it was left by Priors Ernulph and Conrad. It was not known, apparently, to Professor Willis when he lectured in the Cathedral at the first

Congress of the Association in 1844, nor when he wrote his carefully compiled history of the sacred edifice, since he never mentions it; although in later years, when he wrote that of the monastic buildings, it was the basis of the description, and is illustrated in facsimile. Some of the Professor's opinions are confirmed by the view, and particularly with respect to the height of the eastern towers. The view, indeed, shows them to be higher than those at the west end. The design of the eastern termination of the "glorious choir" of Ernulph and Conrad, with those lofty steeples flanking it, may be here studied with good effect, and found to be unusual in England. The lecturer referred to the arrangements of the Rhenish cathedrals, and compared it to the east end of Spires, which was its almost exact counterpart. The view in question is one of the most valuable contemporary evidences in proof of what Norman architecture was, and many of our opinions must be considerably modified by it. We are usually led to believe that buildings of this early period were low and heavy, and that the slender tower and the spire were both inventions of a later period; or if slender towers were met with, they were of Saxon date rather than Norman. Here, on the contrary, we have evidence of light, open arch-work, such as actually exists in some portions of the building; high, Pointed gables finished with large vanes, crosses, or other terminations. High, spire-like roofs are shown to the four angle-towers and the broad central tower alike, although of different designs; and the former are on lofty, slender towers. Even the central tower rises, one diameter in height, above the top of the roof of the church, and has its high roof in addition. The whole of the buildings, as well as the church, are, in fact, shown to have a profusion of high, Pointed roofs, slender pinnacles, and the like.

In the Saint's Chapel attention was drawn to the two central columns of the apse. These are formed of pale, pinkish marble, evidently foreign to England. The lower halves of the two next columns, left and right, are constructed of similar material, the remainder and the other columns being of Purbeck marble. There was sufficient of the former marble to construct three whole columns, which has, instead, been utilised in the way stated. This material was, doubtless, some offering in kind, from abroad, at the construction of the building. The hard material, as well as the Purbeck marble, have been turned in a lathe, and not worked by hand. The joints are remarkable for the insertion of lead beddings to equalise the weight.

Luncheon was served at the Forester's Hall at two o'clock. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, presided, and was supported by the Mayors of Canterbury and Dover, Mrs. Beer, Mrs. Dickson, Sir James Picton, Mr. Brinton, M.P., Mr. Mackie, M.P., Dr. Samuel Birch, F.S.A., and others.

The afternoon was devoted to the examination of St. Augustine's Abbey, which received a careful description at the hands of the Rev. E. R. Orger, M.A., who traced the history of the foundation as evinced by the existing records and cartularies in the British Museum and the Library of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and referred to the late Prebendary Mackenzie Walcott's investigations of the site, published in a former volume of our *Journal*, xxxv, p. 26.

Mr. Orger's paper has been printed above, at pp. 15-27.

A visit was then paid to the Museum, where the collections of the late Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., whose researches and explorations in Canterbury and the county of Kent generally have resulted in bringing together a very representative series of Saxon, Jutish, Roman, and other early classes of *fictilia*, personal ornaments, weapons, etc., proved of great interest and attraction to the party. Perhaps the most remarkable, certainly the rarest, objects of local antiquity in the Canterbury Museum are two sepulchral *pyramidia* of stone found at Sandwich, one of which bears a somewhat indistinct inscription in Runic (?) characters. The discovery of these verifies the use of pyramids of small size to indicate places of early Christian burial in England, as asserted by William of Malmesbury in his *History of the Antiquities of Glastonbury* to have been there employed for that purpose.

After visiting the hall of East Bridge Hospital or Almshouse, to inspect an ancient fresco representing a mystical figure of the Saviour in a vesical frame, surrounded by ministering angels, and having below it a picture of the Last Supper, which was described by Cecil Brent, Esq., F.S.A., the return journey to Dover was made.

The fourth meeting was held in the Council Chamber the same evening, when Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, presided. The first paper was one by Professor Hayter Lewis, on the subject of "The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate." It is printed at pp. 173-178. In the absence of the Professor the paper was read by Mr. Brock.

Mr. G. Lambert said he believed Sandown Castle to be one of the eight "Block-Houses" erected by Henry VIII. They were built for defence against the French, but were never fortified even in those days. They really were nothing but tanks of the dampest kind, and were, like the Martello towers of a later period, of no use whatever.

This paper was followed by one entitled "The Dover Records in the British Museum", written by Mr. Richard Sims, the well known genealogist, which proved to be one of the most interesting papers of the Congress. Mr. Sims' paper has been printed at pp. 129-132.

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. W. de Gray Birch said he regretted that he was unable to see present Mr. Edw. Knocker or his son, who would have been able to tell them how valuable the MSS. would be in



the history of the town. They appeared to him to range over far wider ground, and to commence at a much earlier period, than those which he saw exhibited by Mr. Knocker on the opening night; and no doubt if they were judiciously and critically examined, they would throw a great light upon the ancient history of the town. It struck him that the Corporation of Dover would not be acting unwisely if they were to endeavour to obtain some extracts from these deeds, with which to supplement their own library and original records.

Other speakers followed, and Alderman Bottle thanked both Mr. Sims and Mr. W. de Gray Birch for the trouble they had taken in putting the town in possession of very valuable information.

The concluding paper was one by George Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., on "St. Dunstan, Patron Saint of the Guild of Goldsmiths." The hero of this paper was born at Glastonbury, A.D. 925; and Mr. Lambert very ably traced his career both as a courtier and a saint, he having enjoyed the archiepiscopal dignity of Canterbury for twenty-four years. He was a proficient in music, painting, and the fine arts, and so skilful a worker in metals that many of the vessels in use at the old church of Canterbury were made by his hands. From the paper we learn that the carved and gilded figure of the Saint in the vestibule of Goldsmiths' Hall, London, bearing a pastoral staff and a pair of tongs, was formerly the figure-head of the state-barge of the Company, which was used to conduct the Lord Mayor on his water-progress from Blackfriars' Bridge to Westminster Hall for the swearing in before the Barons of the Exchequer. The barge fell into disuse when the water-progress was abandoned.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 24.

Friday proved a long and varied but most attractive day. It commenced, under the guidance of Mr. J. R. Hall, with a second visit to Canterbury to inspect the remains of the well known Castle, Dane John, and the old city walls.

St. Mildred's Church was principally remarkable for its walls, constructed of a miscellaneous gathering of various kinds of stones and other materials, derived, it was conjectured, from some Roman building which had been pulled to pieces for the purpose of getting the building material. Here were seen, in a short length of walling, Roman bricks, flint, ironstone as at Rutupiaë, slabs of Roman worked stone, and other tooled stones, which from their size and dimension are plainly derived from Roman arches of large radius. It was instructive to observe Saxon walls constructed with Roman *débris*, and these very walls in turn pierced with windows of the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries. The growth of this church from a simple nave and chancel is clearly apparent; the tower, which has been long since removed, having been placed as an afterthought in an anomalous position on the north side of the nave.

The next church, that dedicated to St. Pancras, although little but the foundation remains, was of transcendent interest to those who were able to follow Mr. Brock in his explanation. Full of Roman worked stones and bricks from various adjacent localities, it comprises a portion of what has long been known as a Roman wall, but now recognised as the west porch, composed entirely of Roman brick with wide jointings of mortar; and this is, perhaps, the only fragment of Roman work above the ground in Canterbury. The wall at one place shows faint indications of the impost and spring of an arch. Parts of floor and walls, plastered, and showing the faintest possible traces of a colouring commonly found in the villas at Pompeii, would seem to declare this part of the ruined church to have been a Roman villa; but it is not so. It was, Mr. Brock believes, a small, simple church, consisting of a nave, western tower, and transept or porch, found standing, and reconsecrated by St. Augustine to St. Pancras, having originally been built as a church, and then employed as a temple by Æthelberht, King of the Cantuarii or Cantwares, while Bertha, his Queen, being a Christian, had her church at the adjacent St. Martin's. The correct orientation here is one of the proofs that the building was made at first as a church. The porch has been added to the west front, which is older. The south porch may be very perfectly traced in the low walls yet remaining; some of the bricks indicating, by the older and differently coloured mortar still clinging to them beneath newer mortar, that they are the relics of a still earlier Roman building. Of this class of work very few remains indeed are now extant in England. This edifice is, in strong probability, a vestige of pre-Augustine Christianity. The lower part of a Roman pillar, taken from an older building, still stands, built up partially into the wall. It was the south pillar of the chancel-arch. Indications of an apse were not wanting; the apse being, indeed, from earliest times a mark of Latin influence, and not found in the old Irish churches, nor in many of the Saxon churches. The rapid flight of time would not permit a very long examination of these important ruins, and many points were omitted.

The next visit was to St. Martin's Church, the mother church of England, where the peculiarities of the outer walls, made up of Roman bricks and worked and unworked Roman stones, with traces of original work on the south side, were pointed out by Mr. Brock. Here, too, traces of Roman plastering, but of the more usual Roman kind, of mortar formed of pounded brick, are visible internally and externally; conclusive as evidence that the walls on which it exists are of Roman

date. The unique font also attracted much notice, being manifestly of great antiquity, and showing a lingering feeling almost Celtic in its interlaced patterning, not unlike that over the belfry-door of St. Clement's at Sandwich. Some incline to think that the carving is of the twelfth century, and that it has been cut in low relief upon an older fabric, out of a desire to embellish an object even at that time regarded as a tangible relic of Augustine (who sanctified the edifice by his preaching) and his mission. The date thus attributed to the ornamentation does not clash with observed examples elsewhere. The columns of one of the doorways in the Cathedral cloisters, of eleventh century date, have in like manner been carved with later patterns very similar to what occurs on the font at St. Martin's, probably the work of the same hand.

Mr. Brock said the font at St. Martin's was, perhaps, the most noteworthy in England, and he believed it was the font in which King Æthelberht was baptized. When it was erected first it had not the carving which they now saw upon it. It had been said that the stone was a Caen stone, and it, therefore, must be Norman; but he would dispose of that objection once and for all. He found in the Roman walls at Richborough the piece of Caen stone which he now produced; and they had Sir Gilbert Scott's testimony that the ballusters of the ancient church in Dover Castle, now in the Museum of that town, are also of Caen stone. The moulded imposts of the arches of this building are also of the same material. He believed that these were all alike of Roman date; derived, it may be, from some other building; but even if Saxon they were valuable as evidence that Caen stone was used in England anterior to Norman times. Some brasses in the chancel and choir deserve notice.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, drew attention to an imperfect dedication-stone inscribed in mixed Roman and uncial capitals, built as an impost to the arched door on the south wall of the chancel:

..... IN HONORE SEE .....  
 €T OMNIV SEORV.

The occurrence of the round € and the square E seems to point to the ninth or tenth century, and the inscription may be the record of a rededication.

Canon Routledge contributed a paper, printed above at pp. 47-51, upon the antiquity of the church as revealed by the latest explorations.

The Rev. Leslie E. Goodwin, M.A., Rector of St. Martin's, having been thanked for the facilities he had offered for the investigation of the church, the party proceeded to inspect the ruins in Burgate Street; and afterwards went to the Westgate Towers and St. Dunstan's Church, outside the Walls, where, in a vault of the Roper Chapel, is

deposited the head of the luckless Sir Thomas More, near the body of his daughter, Margaret Roper. Here Mr. Hall read from his *Rambles Round Canterbury*, extracts dealing with St. Dunstan's Church; and thus was closed the second day's visit to the old city of Canterbury.

The party then left for "Shepherd's Well" Station,—a modern corruption of "Sibertswold", perpetrated by the Railway authorities, who are thus rapidly effacing the ancient and correct name,<sup>1</sup> so potent is the arm of civilisation in sweeping away even the very names of our ancient villages,—*en route* for the marvellously beautiful Norman church of Barfreton. The carved details of the south doorway and east end were much admired. This little gem of Norman ecclesiastical architecture is well known to many; but there were few present who had any acquaintance with this beautiful church except such as is given by the many illustrations that have been published of its glories. Small as are its dimensions, its proportions are exquisite; and it is in all probability the most ornate of Norman churches which England possesses,—a perfect repository, in fact, of Norman ornamental detail, strongly attracting the eye after looking at the work of the thirteenth and later centuries. The stringcourses of carved flowers, monsters, and animals, irregularly disposed, form a peculiar but not displeasing feature; and the rose-window of seven lights, at the east end, is also a detail worthy of notice. From the observance of traces of paint on the splays of some of the windows, it has been conjectured that the whole interior was once a blaze of colour. The details of the chancel-arch charmed the party, who, after expressing

<sup>1</sup> The following ballad relating to this fact may interest some of our readers:—

"Ye sapient rustics, young and old,  
Who here about do dwell,  
Why have you changed famed Sibert's Wold  
To humble Shepherd's Well ?

"Young Sibert was a chieftain bold,  
As ancient legends tell :  
He bravely fought upon the Wold,  
And there victorious fell.

"And there, where many a Roman chief  
His single hand had slain,  
By his brave warriors, drowned in grief,  
Young Sibert's corse was lain.

"And long his glorious deeds were told,  
And widely spread his fame ;  
And hence in after times the Wold  
Obtained brave Sibert's name.

"Then tell me, rustics, one and all,  
For you alone can tell,  
Why you a shepherd Sibert call,  
And make his Wold a well ?

their pleasure at the visit, hastened away to Coldred Church, not far distant, built within the area of a deeply ditched camp or earthwork.

The Rev. C. Irvine Wimberley, M.A., Vicar of Sibertswold-cum-Coldred, read a short paper attributing the dedication to St. Pancras, and the name to Ceolred, King of the Mercians, who, as some think, came to this place with a view of assisting the Kentish men against Ini, King of the West Saxons, when the latter had imposed a heavy tax on them in A.D. 694. We are unwilling to accept this derivation. May not the first syllable enshrine within it a memory of the *colonia* of some Romano-British settlers? And the latter part of the word acquire illustration from the extensive woodland of Anderida and *Andredes-leage*?

The Well, 296 feet deep, and the trenches of the Camp, which have in parts been filled up, were examined before the party returned to Dover.

The church consists of a nave and chancel of moderate size, there being here, as at some other churches in this portion of Kent, no chancel-arch. There is a double bell-cot at the west end. There are features of Norman date; and Mr. Broek pointed out the tool-markings of this period on some of the quoins. Since these are, however, insertions as repairs, it is evident that the walling is of earlier, probably of Saxon, date. The original quoins and walls are of rough stone or flint, of very primitive appearance.

General Newdegate, C.B., presided at the evening meeting, which was well attended. Mr. T. Blashill read the first paper, which was on Dover Castle. It was illustrated with drawings of other Norman castles of contemporary date, both in England and on the Continent, such as Rochester, the Tower of London, Arques, Falaise, etc. It is intended that this paper shall be printed in the *Journal* of the Association.

The communication raised an interesting discussion, and at the close Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read a paper (which has been printed at pp. 28-46) "On an Unpublished List of some Early Territorial Names in England", lately found by him written on a fly-leaf of an Anglo-Saxon MS. in the British Museum.

Considerable discussion ensued, and the meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the readers and the Chairman.

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 25.

Saturday, the last day of the Congress, was, like all the previous ones, exceedingly fine and warm. The excursions commenced with a visit to the western heights of Dover, under the guidance of Mr. G. R.



Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, in company with Major Sturt, R.E., who kindly led the way, to view the foundations of the ancient round church of the Templars. What remains of them resembles the figure of a jew's-harp or potter's kiln, having a circular nave with square chancel attached to it. It is the fifth or sixth church of the kind extant in England,—Cambridge, Little Maplestead in Essex, London, and Northampton, being the well known sites of the other round churches; and Bristol is said also to possess the remains of one.

Mr. Wright, who read a short paper on the spot, founded on the Notes of Mr. John Ward, C.B.,<sup>1</sup> agreed with that gentleman in presuming that at this house King John performed the act of homage before the Legate Pandulph in 1213, thereby surrendering to the Pope the kingdom of England and Lordship of Ireland.

The Rev. Canon Puckle, however, dissents from this view, considering it more likely to have taken place at the larger church of the Priory of St. Martin, in Dover; whilst Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., and others think it may have taken place at Temple Ewell (now called simply Ewell), a few miles distant from the old Cinque Port, although these views can scarcely be maintained after the words of the charter recording the act, which King John put into the Legate's hands, which reads thus, "apud domum militum Templi juxta Doveram."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Blashill then thanked Mr. Wright for his interesting paper, and expressed himself as favourable to Mr. Wright's and Mr. Ward's views, from the clear evidences given by those gentlemen.

The next place visited was the Bredenstone, on which Lord Palmerston was installed as Warden of the Cinque Ports, under a precept of the Ancient Court of Shepway in August 1861.

"Of this famous place, where formerly the Grand Court of Shepway was held, Lambarde wrote in the sixteenth century as follows: 'There standeth yet upon the high cliffe between the town and the peere (as it were), not far from that which was the House of Templars, some remains of a tower now called Bredenstone, which had been both a pharos for comfort of saylors, and also a watch-house for defence of the inhabitants.' This," Mr. Wright observed, "again seems to be, without doubt, the ancient House of the Templars, near Dover, which stood upon a part of the Western Heights then called Bredenstone Hill, which was among the possessions of the Knights of the Order. The Order of the Templars was suppressed by the Pope, and its possessions were given to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John in the reign of Edward II; 'but it does not follow', as Mr. Ward further remarks, in his before quoted Notes on this locality, 'that the House

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See *Latin Chronicle* of Matt. Paris (London, 1640), also Stow's *Annals* (1631).

was then pulled down'; and, indeed, it would seem to have been standing in the reign of Henry VIII, for a view of Dover taken at that period has been preserved in the British Museum among the Cottonian MSS." Mr. Wright continued :—

"The Court of Shepway, according to Mr. Edward Knocker, whose well known book on the subject I have been kindly presented with by that gentleman, was held in the open air; and there are various etymological opinions hazarded as to the derivation of the word, Somner saying it means 'ship-way or way to the ships'. At the Port of Lemannis (now Lympne), and near which place a field called 'Shepway Cross' was pointed out to us the other day, history informs us the business of the Ports was from a very early period transacted. It is not improbable, however, that the derivation is of Saxon origin, coming from *sceap*, a sheep; thus proving it to have meant a sheep-way, just as might be found in the recovered pasture-land of Romney Marsh, or on these then untouched and still beautiful Downs. Mr. Knocker's account thus reads: 'It has been the custom for the Lord Warden, having received his appointment, to summon his first Court of Shepway to take his 'serement', or oath of office, at which Court no further business was transacted; and it is recorded that Prince Edward took the 'serement' at Shepway Cross, A.D. 1265, when he was Lord Warden, when he did exact of the Barons of the Ports their oath of fidelity to his father, King Henry III, against the maintainers of the Barons' wars. The Warden had the right to hold his Court at any place he pleased within the Ports; and it is related that a Court was held at Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, upon the administration of the 'serement' to Sir Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, and sometimes since in other places.' Dover, however, seems to have proved a more convenient place for it, and Henry Lord Sydney, Viscount Shepey, issued his precept, 3rd August 1693, to the Cinque Ports to meet and to hold the Grand Court of Shepway there, using this expression by way of formula, 'I have heard it is true that usually the Wardens used to be sworn at Shepway; but it seems, of late years, that place not having been thought as convenient for that purpose, from its want of sufficient accommodation, I am told that three of my immediate predecessors successively were sworn upon Bredenstone Hill, lying within the Liberties of the town and port of Dover.'

"The Bredenstone or Braidenstone referred to in Lord Sydney's precept", continued Mr. Wright, "was the ruin of a Roman pharos built on nearly the highest point of the Western Heights, and as Mr. Knocker says corresponded with that still existing on the Castle Hill, of which we hope to hear more from the Vicar of Dover. Darell gives a representation of it in his work, *Ara Caesaris*; and in the spring of 1862, alterations being made in a redoubt near here, the workmen came upon a plat-

form of solid masonry about 15 inches in thickness, placed about 11 feet from the upper surface to the ground, the soil above the platform being evidently made ground. The masonry is composed, according to the Roman habit, of a very hard, reddish concrete, flint, and Kentish rag-stone, with tiles placed in it longitudinally. From the best observations that could be made, the platform appeared to be of hexagon shape, very like the Castle Pharos as originally constructed, and the width of the front side of the hexagon to be about 12 or 14 feet. The platform was placed upon a pavement of flint formation of about the same thickness, which extended about 6 feet beyond it. There is good ground for believing that it was upon this platform the *Ara Cæsaris* above referred to by Darell stood.

“Lord Palmerston, as has been above referred to, was the last Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports who, on accepting the appointment, took the ‘serement’, or oath of office, at a Court of Shepway holden for that purpose at the Bredenstone on the 28th August 1861, of which most ancient as well as interesting ceremony Mr. Edward Knocker’s valuable work, from which I have so largely quoted, gives a full and elaborate account.”

The remains of the platform of the ancient Pharos are preserved in one of the houses of the married men’s quarters in Fort George, very carefully and skilfully boarded over. This relic was uncovered for the party to see, by the direction of Major Sturt, R.E., on this occasion.

St. Mary’s Church was next visited, the chief features of the fabric being explained by the Vicar, the Rev. Canon Puckle, M.A., by whose zeal and good taste the structure was saved from almost utter ruin, and has since been carefully repaired. The Rev. Canon Puckle stated that the church was remarkable for two things,—first, because it was built upon the foundation of some of the largest Roman baths to be seen within the kingdom; and secondly, because in digging up the chancel they had found a coffin, or rather chest, in which was a corpse most richly embalmed, and dressed as a knight, which there was good reason for believing was that of King Stephen, who died at Boulogne or Calais, and whose heart was sent over to England for burial at Faversham. It was mentioned incidentally by Mr. Walford that the west front of St. Mary’s Church had formed the subject of one of Turner’s earliest paintings.

Having completed their inspection of St. Mary’s Church, the party next made their way to the ruined fragments of St. Martin’s Church, near the Market Place, which, like St. Mary’s, had for its foundation a Roman bath.

This was followed by a visit to the local Museum, which is especially rich in geological specimens and in its collections of natural history, but decidedly weak in the department of antiquities. Some grave-

stones with Runic inscriptions, and a truncated figure of Roman workmanship, lately dug up near the Market Place, were much admired, and upon which some notes will be given hereafter.

The next place visited was St. James's Church, the same in which tradition states the Shepway Courts were once held; but Mr. Knocker, in a carefully prepared paper, proved this to be an error. It was the Admiralty and Chancery Court of the Cinque Ports that was held here, in the southern transept, as attested by the records or reports, bound in several volumes, and by the seats or recesses for the officers of the Court, which remain to the present time. The structure of the church itself was also commented upon by some of the members.

The party, after luncheon at the Royal Oak Hotel, met again, at half-past two, at the gates of the Castle, where the members and visitors were received by General Newdegate, Colonel Goodenough, and Major Sturt. Under the guidance of these gallant officers they inspected every part of the fortress, its ancient Saxon church and Roman Pharos, its keep and subterranean vaults, the Constable's tower, and the military stores and armoury, each of which was explained in its turn.

Canon Puckle claimed for the church a date of erection which would carry it back to the fourth century, soon after Diocletian's persecution, and he pointed out how very much of Roman work and materials was shown in the foundation, and in the walls and windows. The restoration of the church, he added, had been well carried out by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, who had found the sacred fabric used as a coal-cellar for the Castle, and choked up to the depth of 8 or 9 feet with filth and rubbish.

Other parts of the Castle which were shown to the party, and made the subject of separate comment, were the large chamber in which the Emperor Charles V was here entertained for three days by Henry VIII, and the chamber occupied by Queen Elizabeth. The Armoury also, and the guns on the ramparts (including, of course, Queen Elizabeth's Pocket-Pistol, so called), were much admired.

The visit was concluded by a hearty vote of thanks to Major-General Newdegate and the other officers, and to the Rev. Canon Puckle, for their kind explanation and papers.

After leaving the Castle, the visitors drove to the village of St. Margaret's, about three miles distant. The party were received here by the Rev. E. C. Lucey, M.A., Vicar, who read a paper which will be printed hereafter.

In the evening, at the invitation of the Deputy-Mayor (T. V. Brown, Esq.), a large number of the inhabitants met the members of the Association and their friends at a *conversazione* held in the New Town Hall. The Hall presented a very effective appearance. The old Maison Dion



Hall made a splendid promenade, and dancing was kept up till twelve o'clock.

At intervals during the evening papers were read in the Council Chamber. The first, which will be printed hereafter, was by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., Librarian to the Archbishop at Lambeth Palace, upon "Foreign Refugee Settlements in Kent."

The second paper, on "Dover Harbour in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", was by Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*. Mr. Wright, who, through the kindness of Mr. Stillwell, had access to the Registers of the Dover Harbour Board, said in the office of the Registrar he found two very valuable books containing the original plans of the harbour and town of Dover, certainly dating back to the time of Elizabeth, if not of Henry VIII. One portion of the Dover Harbour plan might be considered a copy of another which is in the British Museum, of which had been published a small engraving, to be seen in the Council Chamber at Dover. On the larger plan there is an account of the depth of the water, and how the Harbour had been deepened and enlarged from time to time. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Votes of cordial thanks were afterwards passed to the Mayor and Corporation of Dover for their kind hospitality, and for the use of the *Maison Dieu*; as also to the readers of papers, and the friends, both clerical and lay, who had assisted the work of the Congress. These votes were unanimously passed, and suitably acknowledged; and the meeting broke up at a late hour.

On Sunday many of the members of the Society attended service at the church in the Castle.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 27.

Between 100 and 150 of the members of the Association proceeded to Calais on Monday morning. The Deputy-Mayor (Mr. Brown) and several friends accompanied, and on arriving at Calais the party were received by M. Hobaeq, under whose guidance they were conducted to the principal objects of archaeological interest in this ancient town. Considerable time was spent in an inspection of the ramparts which encircle the town, and are now in the course of demolition. Amongst these, the site of the old gateway known as "Hogarth's Gate" was commented upon; and the identification of the names and plan of many of the streets as they existed in the time of the English occupation, was particularly interesting in many instances. Another object of special interest was the Hotel of the Due de Guise, the residence of this famous nobleman, and where Henry VIII lodged at the time of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The Cathedral was also visited.



The party then went on by train, soon after midday, to Abbeville, where the very fine church of St. Wolfran, visible high above the roofs on every side, invited inspection. The west front and a portion of the nave are a part of a magnificent design which was never completed. The quaint, old specimens of domestic architecture in the side-streets, however, proved even more attractive still, and their fine dormer-windows and the carved barge-boards of their fronts and gables were much admired.

The afternoon was devoted to a hasty inspection of these mediæval relics, as well as of the Museum bequeathed to the town by M. Boucher de Perthes, and principally known for its collection of stone implements from the Valley of the Somme, brought together by that indefatigable antiquary during a long course of years.

At between six and seven o'clock the signal was given for proceeding by train to Amiens, dinner being served there at the Hotel de l'Univers, where the members of the Association took quarters for the night, in readiness for their tour of inspection of the ancient city of the Somme.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 28.

The principal object of attraction at Amiens was the magnificent Cathedral, which occupied the party a great portion of the day. Though not longer, it is loftier far than Westminster Abbey, whose nave would be quite dwarfed if placed beside it. Nor has any cathedral in England, not even Wells, so fine and elaborate a west front displaying an unending series of niches and statues doing the duty of pillars in supporting the deeply recessed arches of the grand entrance. The rose-windows in the transepts, the elaborate carvings of the choir, apse, and side-chapels, and the delicate tracery of the windows, in every direction conspire to make the interior an object of admiration to all who visit it, and especially to archæologists. When the party visited it, the choir and high altar were both draped in black in honour of "Henri Cinq", the late Count de Chambord, and the congregation in their sombre dresses made the scene a memorable one.

This is a magnificent specimen of the architecture of a thirteenth century French Gothic building. The nave of the edifice, which is the loftiest in France, and is considered a masterpiece of the architect's art, together with the lightness and elegance of the pillars, were much admired. The central spire of the Cathedral was commented upon by the members. This lofty structure is 422 feet in height, and 22 feet higher than that at Salisbury.

Attention was given to the different points which mark the outline of the old town which existed at the time of Cæsar's invasion of Gaul. Amongst other places of interest which claimed the attention of the

party were the Citadel and the site of the ramparts of the town, which have been demolished, and now serve as promenades ; also the Hotel de Ville, built by Henry IV, which contains a large collection of paintings of the French school.

The party afterwards inspected the Musée Communale, and the Museum which once bore the name of Napoleon ; the Hôtel de Ville, where the Peace of Amiens was signed in 1802 ; the Bibliothèque Communale ; the Citadel ; the remains of the old fortifications ; and the churches of St. Leu and St. Germaine, the latter a very fine specimen of a town church of the end of the fourteenth or the early part of the fifteenth century, with many details known as *flamboyant*, and a tower and spire at the north-west angle. The western doorway was much admired.

After luncheon the archæologists drove to St. Acheul, the original home of the bishopric of Amiens, but now utilised as a Jesuit college and seminary. In the crypt below the church, which is most curious, they were shown the stone coffin which is said to contain the bones of St. Firmin, the patron saint of the city, and the founder of the see. There also they saw several other stone coffins and sarcophagi of the Gallo-Roman period. Here the guide of the party, Mr. John Reynolds, explored what he believed to be the foundations of the original church erected by St. Firmin himself.

In the evening the party dined together at the Hotel, and Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., read a paper on the historic "Field of Cloth of Gold", which the party had hoped to visit when they were at Calais ; and great regret was expressed at the shortness of the time allowed, which forbade even a hasty visit to the battlefield of Crécy, near Abbeville.

In the evening the Congress may be said to have broken up, though a party about twenty strong resolved to return to Calais, and to make a more intimate acquaintance with the Citadel, the gates, and such parts of the old fortifications as still remain after the wholesale process of demolition which has been going on for weeks and months of late. Others, a smaller party, resolved to visit the Cathedral of Beauvais ; and a third party, more adventurous still, left Amiens early on Wednesday with the intention of making an inspection of Rouen, Caen, and some other cities of Normandy, before they returned to England.

#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 29.

The Association brought its Congress to a close by a visit to Boulogne on Wednesday, where the majority of the party came from the neighbouring city of Amiens. In an old town which has a his-

tory dating back to the invasion of Gaul by the Romans, and which was the chief point of embarkation with the Romans for Britain, the party found no lack of matters of archæological research. Additional interest, however, attached to the visit, owing to the fact that most of the members had, during their stay at Dover, inspected the ruins of Richborough, the ancient port between which and Boulogne the Roman intercourse with Britain was carried on.

The Cathedral of Notre Dame was visited. Although quite a modern building, having been erected in the early part of the present century, the crypt, which was carefully explored, afforded much interest, not only from its having been constructed on the site of a Roman temple, but from its containing many relics of beautiful carved work of an early period. The old walls, erected by Phillipe in the thirteenth century, and enclosing the Haut Ville, or upper portion of the town, were inspected; also the Citadel, now used as an armoury and barrack and as a powder-magazine. The well known Museum, said to rank third in France, also claimed the attention of the party. Here was seen an admirable collection of Gallo-Roman pottery and antiquities, which elicited considerable comment. A visit was also paid to the Napoleon Column.

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## Obituary.

MR. ALFRED BENJAMIN WYON, F.R.G.S.,

SON of Mr. Benjamin Wyon, was born on the 28th Sept. 1837, and was admitted a student at the Royal Academy on the 27th April 1855. After studying in the School of Painting for some years, he turned his attention to medallic work, and joined his brother, Mr. Joseph S. Wyon, the Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals, in the execution of medals and the important seals of State. In 1865 he was united with his brother in the appointment of Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals. The appointment was held jointly by the two brothers until the death of Mr. Joseph S. Wyon in 1873, when it was held singly by Mr. Alfred B. Wyon until his death, which took place on the 4th of June 1884.

Among the numerous works undertaken by the two brothers between 1865 and 1873 may be mentioned the medals commemorating the marriages of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Helena and Louise with Prince Christian and the Marquis of Lorne respectively, the Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, the visit of H.I.M. the Sultan

to the City of London, the national thanksgiving at St. Paul's Cathedral for the recovery of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the medal of the Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, Australia. Among the seals executed during this period may be mentioned the Great Seal of Canada, those of the various provinces of the Dominion, and that of the Straits Settlements. Since 1873, Mr. Alfred B. Wyon was entrusted with the preparation of the Great Seal of England which is at present in use, the seal of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Fiji, and other Crown dependencies.

Amongst the medals which Mr. Wyon carried out during this latter portion of his life were those commemorating the visit of H.M. the Shah of Persia to the City of London, the marriages of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the Duke and Duchess of Albany, the Maclise and Baily Medals for the Art Union of London, and the Sydney Exhibition Medals. Besides these, Mr. Wyon also executed many episcopal seals, amongst which were those of the present Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin; and, in fact, the seals of the vast majority of all the Bishops, home and colonial, who have been consecrated during the last twenty years.

Always a thorough, painstaking worker in whatever he took up, he had collected, at first little by little, and during the last few years, by steady application, a vast amount of information respecting the history of the Great Seals of England,—a work which had led him to visit and personally examine seals attached to charters and other documents in all the important cities and towns throughout England, from Durham to Plymouth, and from Norwich to Bristol; besides those found in the British Museum, Record Office, Guildhall Library, and other places in London, and in the principal Museums in Paris. Papers upon questions arising in connection with these subjects he has from time to time read at the meetings of the British Archæological Association. From the various materials he had thus collected he was preparing a work for the press which the Queen had graciously permitted to be dedicated to Her Majesty, and to which H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had signified his pleasure to subscribe. The work was not quite completed; but we understand that it is likely to be completed by his brother, Mr. Allan Wyon, who has been appointed, in succession to the late Mr. Alfred B. Wyon, Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals.

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.* By THOS. WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. Second Edition by RICHARD PAUL WÜLCKER. 2 vols., 8vo., 1884. (Trübner and Co.)—In the years 1857 and 1873, our late Associate Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., edited two volumes of vocabularies illustrating the condition and manners of our forefathers, as well as the history of the forms of elementary education, and of the languages spoken in this island, from the tenth century to the fifteenth. For these volumes the public is indebted to the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, an antiquary and fine art connoisseur well known in the world of archæology. These vocabularies and others of their kind are indispensable to the philologist, the grammarian, and the lexicographer; and Mr. Wright's labours, we are glad to observe, have not failed to attract the attention both of our own and of foreign students. Although by no means exhausting the series of Anglo-Saxon vocabularies, as, for example, the *Epinal Glossary*, lately so well edited by Mr. H. Sweet, the glossaries gathered together by Mr. Wright (of which a second edition was issued in 1882 and 1883) are very typical and characteristic; hence we may gladly hail the new edition just based upon them by R. P. Wülcker of Leipzig as a valuable contribution to Anglo-Saxon and Early English philology.

Herr Wülcker has judiciously recast the arrangement of the glossaries, omitting five of the articles not of an important nature, and replacing them by a collection of Kentish glosses of the ninth century, from the MS. Cotton, Vespasian D. vi; some Anglo-Saxon glosses of the tenth century, from another Cottonian MS., Tiberius A. vii, published by Mr. T. Wright in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, but not incorporated into his collection of glossaries; and a Latin and English vocabulary of the fifteenth century, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. These additions, and a careful collation of Mr. Wright's text with his manuscript authorities, render the present edition of great critical importance.

In addition, Herr Wülcker has very wisely added alphabetical indices of (1) the Latin, (2) the Anglo-Saxon, and (3) the Old English words. These, contained in the second volume, really constitute an appendix to the Anglo-Saxon dictionaries of Lye, Somner, Benson, Bosworth, Grein, and others, whose labours, valuable as they are, are often found lacking in references to passages which point out the sources of various significations.



The work before us is of a high class; and if the learned Editor could be induced to take up a second series of these invaluable linguistic remains, he would, indeed, deserve hearty thanks of all scholars of the Teutonic branches of philology. As it is, these twenty lists, embracing upwards of eight hundred closely pointed columns, will be found to comprehend words and explanations that may be sought for in vain elsewhere. The annotations are not the least valuable part of the book; and we may safely say that no future lexicographer can fail to make the most thorough use of the work, which has been issued very opportunely, when two great dictionaries of the English language are just passing through the press.

*The Records of St. Michael's Parish Church, Bishop's Stortford.* Edited by J. L. GLASSCOCK, JUN. (London: Elliot Stock, 62 Paternoster Row, E.C. Bishop's Stortford: Arthur Boardman, North Street.)—This work contains, among other things, transcripts of churchwardens' accounts from 1431 to 1847, with notes; names of the vicars from 1332; the churchwardens from 1430; the collectors and overseers from 1563; papers relating to the Chantry and the Guild of St. John the Baptist; inventories of church goods, *temp.* Henry VIII and Edward VI; rentals; old overseers' accounts; papers relating to the charities, etc. A list is also given of all the monumental inscriptions now in the church; and a list of those which were formerly there, but which have now disappeared. To these are added a full copy of all those inscriptions hitherto not printed; also a list of the inscriptions now remaining in the disused burial-ground, giving the names, dates of death, and ages of about eight hundred persons.

*Sandgate Castle.*—Professor T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., communicates the following note, which further illustrates his remarks on Sandgate Castle at p. 175, l. 3, after "erection":—

"The earliest notice of Sandgate Castle which I have been able to find is in the time of Richard II, when the Castle appears to have been of a considerable size, admitting horses, etc. The notice is in the form of a letter from the King to the Captain of Sandgate Castle, and is as follows, the date being 1398, an. 22 Richard II:—*'Rex Capitaneo Castri sui de Sandgate, vel ejus Locum tenenti ibidem, salutem. Sciatis quòd (de Gratiâ nostrâ speciali) concessimus consanguineo nostro Henrico de Lancastre, Duci Herefordiæ, quod ipse Castrum prædictum, cum Familiâ, equis & Hernesiis suis, ingredi & ibidem per sex septimanas morari possit, ad ipsum cum Familiâ suâ prædictâ, inibi recreandum. Et idèò vobis mandamus quòd ipsum Ducem Castrum prædictum, cum Familiâ, Equis & Harnesiis prædictis, ingredi permittatis juxta Tenorem Præsentis Concessionis nostræ. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Castrum de Wyndesore tertio die Octobris.'*" (Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. viii [1397-1413], p. 49.)

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### ST. THOMAS OF DOVER.

BY REV. CANON SCOTT-ROBERTSON, M.A.

*(Read at the Dover Congress, August 1883.)*

A REMARKABLE event in the history of the Priory of St. Martin's took place in August 1395, when certain Frenchmen landing at Dover, during the course of a few hours, ravaged all the town near the shore with fire and sword. Assaulting St. Martin's Priory, they overcame all opposition, and, having forced an entrance, they ransacked the whole place, destroyed much, and carrying off whatever valuables they could find. By the time that they had forced their way in, the monks had sought safety in flight, all but one, an aged man of great holiness, named Thomas de la Hale. He being old and infirm, refused to fly. The Frenchmen found him sitting in the dormitory, and tried to induce him to guide them to the treasures of the Priory. This he steadfastly refused to do. Threats and cajolery proving in vain, the Frenchmen resorted to violence. This was equally unavailing. At last, irritated beyond endurance by the old man's faithfulness in refusing to obey them, they took the aged monk's life, and, having slain him there in the Priory, they withdrew to their ships with their spoil. When the refugee monks returned to the monastery, they found the buildings damaged, and the whole place stripped of all that was of any value; but in one of the ransacked buildings they found something to repay them for all their losses. This was the dead body of their

aged brother, Thomas de la Hale. Had he not been slain because of his faithfulness to his order and his duty? Was he not, then, a martyr in his Priory's cause? The pity and indignation of the monks, and subsequently of the people, at once elevated the poor old monk to a place among the saints, and Thomas de la Hale became the saintly martyr of Dover. His burial in the Priory Church was an imposing ceremony; and his tomb was resorted to by devotees, who declared they received bodily benefit from their pilgrimage to it, and from prayers thereat. In fact, the monks asserted that miracles were wrought by their martyred brother's remains.

The story of his death, or martyrdom, finds a place in several of the chronicles or annals of the time. One chronicler, John of Tynemouth, has left an elaborate record of the *Life and Passion of Thomas de la Hale, Monk of Dover, slain by the French*". It is still preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. 240, p. 798). The *Chronicon Roffense*<sup>1</sup> outstrips all others by presenting to us at the foot of the page a spirited sketch of the scene of his murder, very cleverly drawn. Within a few months after his death, when the Priory buildings were still suffering from the effects of the Frenchmen's raid, the monks had prospered greatly in their efforts to make a market of their aged brother's death. In the January after his murder, Dover was visited by the Bishop of Winchester, John de Pontissard; and from him the monks obtained a grant of forty days' indulgence for all Christian people who would pray for the soul of Brother Thomas de la Hale, lately a monk in the Conventual Church of St. Martin, Dover, and wherein he is buried. His tomb, thus advertised, was frequented by hundreds of devout persons. The chroniclers descend to details, and narrate the raising to life of five dead men, and cures of the blind, the deaf, and the lame, all ascribed to the saintly virtues of the martyred Thomas of Dover; all connected with his tomb in this Priory Church. Nor did the monks suffer time to dim the lustre of the martyr's reputation, or lessen the revenues they gathered from pilgrims to his tomb. In October 1370, they obtained from Archbishop Wittlesey (who was then at

<sup>1</sup> Cotton MS., Nero D. ii, fol. 187A.

Dover) a grant of forty days' indulgence for all devout pilgrims praying at the tomb of Thomas de la Hale. But their greatest achievement was the winning over the Black Prince's widow to such an interest in them, and such reverence for their martyr, that she persuaded her son, King Richard II, to join her in requesting the Pope to canonize Dover's Saint Thomas. Things went so far that in December 1380, a papal Bull was issued by Urban VI, directing the Archbishop and the Bishop of London to examine into the claims of Thomas de la Hale. These Prelates commissioned the Priors of Christ Church and St. Gregory's at Canterbury, together with the Archdeacon of Oxford (Thomas Southam), a canon of St. Paul's (Robert Bradgar), and the Rector of Southflete (Robert Bourne), to examine the evidence as to each reputed miracle. The commission is dated in October 1382. Thomas of Dover was bidding fair to rival Thomas of Canterbury. But it would never suit the monks of Christ Church to see another St. Thomas enshrined so close to their own great martyr. No Bull of canonization was issued, and we must, therefore, infer that the evidence of the reputed miracles was not sufficient to produce conviction in the minds of the five ecclesiastics who formed the commission. In this, Thomas de la Hale shared the same fate which awaited Henry VI. Similar application was made to canonize that King, and a similar commission issued, but he was not made a saint.

Nevertheless, the reputation of Thomas of Dover continued to flourish; and his tomb seems to have been regarded as an altar by many. At so late a date as the year 1499, Thomas Riche, Vicar of Bokeland, desired (by his will) to be buried in the Priory Church of St. Martin, "near to the altar of the blessed Thomas de Halys there". In fact, we have evidence that this thirteenth century martyr formed one of the chief attractions and notabilities of the Priory up to the last day of its existence. When the dissolution came, one of the monks who signed the deed of surrender in 1536 was Thomas Cristun, who had, "in religion", adopted the name of the local martyr. His signature to the deed, acknowledging the Royal Supremacy in 1534, is simply "Thomas de la Hale".

## RICHBOROUGH.

BY G. DOWKER, ESQ., F.G.S.

(*Read at the Dover Congress, August 1883.*)

ASSEMBLED as we are beneath the walls of the ancient Rutupiae, whose massive structure has defied the ravages of the barbarians, and withstood for fifteen centuries the assaults of the elements, we are reminded of Rome's former greatness in Britain, and of the great changes that have taken place since the marshes, now surrounding this castrum, were filled with the waters of the Wantsum, on which floated the fleet of the Comes Littoris Saxonici. Doubtless these shallow waters of the Rutupian shore afforded safe and commodious harbours; and Rutupiae must have been a port of the first pre-eminence and importance in connection with the traffic from the Continent—at a time even dating from the beginning of the Roman occupation. Important problems still await a solution: first, was Rutupiae more than a port, was it also a town? secondly, at what period were the present walls constructed? thirdly, were there any defensive walls before the present, or did the subterranean structure exist before the present walls were built? fourthly, what was the date and intention of the cross erected on the platform? fifthly, what are the walls, of which fragments only remain, that are found resting on the platform and surrounding the cross?

I must presume that you are acquainted with the history of this place, so well written by Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., and I shall, therefore, merely summarise the chief points that have been ascertained respecting it, and the discoveries which have been made since that work was written. Mr. Boys, the historian of Sandwich, measured the dimensions of the walls, and discovered the structure within, termed the platform, and made an accurate plan of the castrum and its surroundings in 1792; subsequent excavations were made by Mr. Gleig in 1826, notes of



which are in my possession, and again by Mr. Rolfe in 1842. In 1865 I conducted further excavations, on behalf of the Kent Archæological Society, a report of which appeared in vol. viii of their *Proceedings*, to which I shall presently refer. Our first question relates to the date of Rutupiaë. It is mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer, who lived in the first half of the second century, as one of the three towns of the Cantii.<sup>1</sup> In the Itinerary of Antoninus, Rutupiaë is called a port or haven. In the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester (not now relied on as authentic) Rutupiaë is termed a colony, and is placed among the nine "colonial cities". Mr. Roach Smith observes, "this is evidently a mistake."<sup>2</sup> In the *Notitia*, written probably in the reign of Theodosius the younger, A.D. 450, we read that the second legion, called Augusta, was located at Rutupiaë.<sup>3</sup> As no inscriptions have been found at Richborough to help us in this inquiry, we must fall back on the other evidences. A great many coins have been found here; they extend over a period of four hundred years, or from the first arrival of the Romans to their final departure. The coins of the earlier Emperors (Mr. Roach Smith observes) are comparatively scarce; but towards the end of the third century they increased in numbers. Large collections of them were made by the late Mr. Rolfe, and by my uncle, the late E. F. S. Reader, of Sandwich. They go to prove a prolonged occupation of Richborough, and would point to a period anterior to the date of the *Littus Saxonicum*. Mr. Boys traced roads or streets, at right angles to the road from the Decuman gate of the castrum, running parallel and on either side, one of which led to the amphitheatre. Military roads ran from Richborough to Dover and Canterbury, portions of which are traceable to this day; but all of them are obliterated when we approach the island (as it must have been) of Richborough. There is little doubt, I think, that as a port it must have existed from the earliest period of the Roman occupation. The passage from Gaul to Britain must, from the nature of the tidal currents, have run diagonally across the Straits

<sup>1</sup> *Richborough, Reculver, and Lympne*, by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. 1850. P. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

of Dover, and we find two important ports, Rutupiæ to the east, and Portus Lemanis to the west. As a naval station commanding the estuary of the Wantsum, it must have early risen to importance. But if such were the case, we must not hastily assume that the present castrum walls date earlier than the Littus Saxonicum. Of "The Saxon Shore" we have an exhaustive memoir published by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Collectanea Antiqua*,<sup>1</sup> in which he observes, "Littus Saxonicum has been imputed to two different causes, each of which has its advocates. The earlier writers attributed the reason of the appellation to the fact that this tract included parts of Britain, chiefly oppressed by invasions of the Saxons. Others, including Kemble, believe that along this extensive sea margin the Saxons had obtained a settlement". "But", he continues, "for any such settlement of Saxons in Britain under the Empire, I can find no historical record whatever." The Rev. Preb. Scarth, however, adopts the later theory.<sup>2</sup> Mr. John Richard Green, in his *Making of England*, supports the earlier view, with great show of reason and copious references.<sup>3</sup>

The present walls of Richborough seem especially designed to repel such a sudden attack as might be expected from the Saxon pirates. The walls were probably 30 feet high, thus not easily scaled. The Decuman, or principal gate, was of massive construction, the walls on either side sloping in towards the entrance, so the defenders might observe the enemy on either side; the corners of the castrum were flanked by round towers, which doubtless commanded a view of the surrounding country, besides serving to defend the walls. The postern gate was especially designed to resist a sudden

<sup>1</sup> *Coll. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Roman Maritime Towns in Kent*, by the Rev. Preb. H. M. Scarth, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Making of England*, by J. R. Green, M.A., LL.D. 1881. P. 19. He states,—“From the close of the third century the raids of these Saxons must have been felt along the coasts of Gaul. It is not, however, till the year 364 that we hear of them as joining in an attack upon Britain itself: ‘Cum (Carausius) per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ pacandum mare accepisset quod Franci et Saxones infestabant.’” Eutrop. (*Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. lxxii) ; Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvi, c. 4.

attack, and at the same time give the garrison an easy sallying point towards the sea. Towards the east side of the castrum, Mr. Boys thought he could trace a wall partly flanking that side, which he has represented, in his plan, as below the cliff near the river; since then the South Eastern Railway has been laid near the spot, and portions of the overturned wall were met with during its construction. I have since ascertained that another large mass, 156 feet in length, lies in the bed of the river. It seems, therefore, probable that the walls quite encircled the castrum, and on the eastern side they may have been below the cliff. That the sea did not cover this ground is evident from the fact that, during the construction of the railway, the foundations of a house were met with at the same level, though to the south east of the present castrum. Whatever may have been the date at which the castrum was built, it appears all of one construction, and exactly of the same materials—flint stones and chalk blocks, laid in a mortar of lime, grit, and coarsely broken tiles.

The wall on the east side may have also enclosed a harbour to protect the fleet. It is worthy of note that the castra of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne were similarly situated with regard to their bordering on the sea or a river; and, I might add, the same appears to have been the case with the other castra that guarded the Saxon shore, viz., Bradwell-juxta-Mare, in Essex; Brancaster and Burgh Castrum.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the second question, Were there any other walls or remains of Roman buildings at Richborough previous to the fortifications built to guard the Saxon shore? I would suggest that the present walls may occupy the place of an intrenched camp, and that the whole of Richborough Island may have been previously occupied as a town and port, as the amphitheatre, the roads, streets, and coins, as well as the historical notices, testify. With regard to the Portus Lemanis, we have the important fact that the walls had been built of material derived from a more ancient building, for inscribed tiles, and an altar with an inscription, showing

<sup>1</sup> See *Collectanea*, vol. vii, "The Saxon Shore."

that it was dedicated to Aufidius Pantera, Prefect of the British fleet, were built into the walls; and from the fact that the altar was covered with barnacles, it is evident it had been removed from some building overwhelmed by the sea.<sup>1</sup> The Portus Lemanis, therefore, in all probability dated anterior to the present castrum at Lymne. In like manner the Portus Rutupinus may date earlier than the Littus Saxonicum. Richborough, as the most important station, and more exposed to the attack of a naval force landing in Britain, may have been the first of these structures raised to defend the Rutupian shore; it seems to have been calculated for one legion.

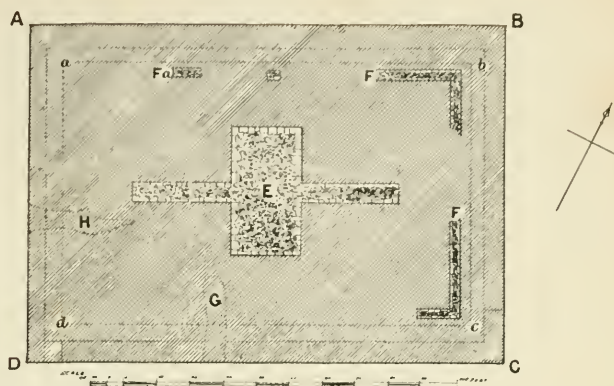
But I must now refer to the extraordinary mass of masonry within the walls which has been described as the platform. Mr. Boys determined its dimensions to be 144 feet long, 104 feet wide, and 5 feet thick. It has been represented as not being in the centre of the castrum, and somewhat towards the north-east corner.<sup>2</sup> I must here observe that this platform, though not in the centre of the castrum, nevertheless is in the position in which we should expect to find the prætorium, for the Decuman gate is more towards the north wall than the south, and the road from it would cut through the platform; and if there was a south entrance where the wall seems wanting, the intersection of these roads would mark the place of the prætorium. Mr. Gleig, in tracing a cave that existed in the face of the sand cliff, which he presumed was the cave mentioned by Leland, came on foundations beneath the platform 30 feet in depth from the surface; and on the eastern side and towards the north-east corner he discovered a large, wedge-shaped piece of masonry sloping down towards the cliff. This latter fact, at the time of its discovery, seems to have attracted little attention; but when we know that excavations, undertaken since by G. W. Rolfe and the Kent Archæological Society,<sup>3</sup> have revealed the stupendous nature of the substructure of apparently a solid

<sup>1</sup> See Report on the Excavations at Lymne, by C. Roach Smith and James Elliott, Jun. 1852. P. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See Boys' *Collections for a History of Sandwich*, p. 866.

<sup>3</sup> See Report of the Excavations in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii, p. 1.

# RICHBOROUGH CASTLE.



GROUND PLAN OF THE PLATFORM.

A.B.C.D Surface of Platform

a, b, c, d. Holes through it

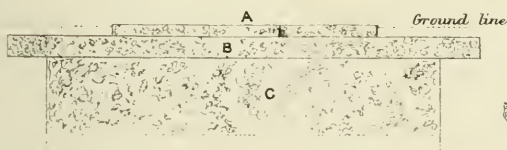
F.F.F. Remains of Wall of Church (?)

E. The Cross 87 ft x 44 ft

G. Excavation in 1843.

H. Old Excavation probably Leland's Cave

Dotted lines indicate the excavation beneath the platform in 1843 - 1865.

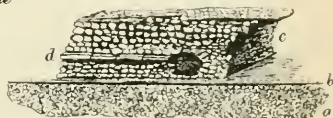


ELEVATION OF THE MASONRY OF THE PLATFORM.

A. The Cross

B. Platform.

C. The Sub Masonry to the water level.



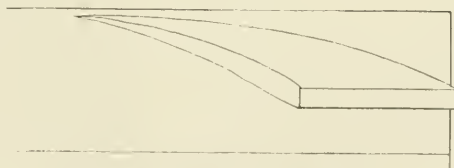
PORTION OF THE WALL F.

a Part of Platform

b Sand and burnt earth stratum 2" thick.

c. Portion of Wall Fa on Plan

d Roman Tiles 1.5' from top of platform



Eastern Face of the Platform with sloping Terrace attached from M. Glaig's notes 1826





mass of masonry, we may find in this sloping block some clue to the meaning of the structure. This extraordinary building has been a puzzle to antiquaries for years; nothing similar has been found elsewhere; no Roman writer, that I am aware of, has ever alluded to it, or to any similar structure. The platform, 144 ft. long by 104 ft. wide, and 5 ft. thick, is resting on and subtending other foundations, 10 ft. in one direction and 12 ft. in the other, so that the deeper foundations are 132 ft. by 94 ft., and of unknown depth; and the whole of this mass is built of flint stones and the most compact mortar, without the least admixture of other material, differing in this respect from the walls of the castrum, which have chalk and other materials, and pounded tile in the mortar. This platform is perforated at each corner of the deeper structure by holes about 4 inches square, into which wood had been introduced. It is covered entirely with a stratum of mortar and fine gravel. What could be the intention of such a structure? All sorts of theories have been started, and, I may add, generally by those who know least about the subject. But I will refer chiefly to two theories which have received very wide acceptance. Mr. Boys<sup>1</sup> remarks, alluding to the cross, "A base of such solidity could scarcely have been intended for the support of a roof, or have formed a part of any compound building. Might there not have been on this spot a lofty sea-mark to direct the mariner, or a cross to solicit his devotion?" After my papers describing the results of the excavations in 1865,<sup>2</sup> Mr. T. Godfrey Faussett, in a note following, writes, "We may suppose the Comes Littoris Saxonici designed to erect here within the camp some huge building—in all likelihood a Pharos or watch-tower of unusual height—and, mistrusting the sand of Richborough Hill for his foundation, to take the elaborate and thoroughly Roman step of digging it out for the required area"; he adds, "Whether the great superstructure was ever raised upon it may be doubted, for no existing remains on the platform point to a building of size requiring a specially solid foundation." "The cruciform remains have always puzzled investigators. I would

<sup>1</sup> See *Collections for a History of Sandwich*, p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii.

suggest that this building may have formed a sort of internal buttress or support to a timber Pharos built around it." And with regard to the remains of walls surrounding the cross marked F on my plan, he writes, "The smaller remains—viz., of the wall F—are built so exactly and regularly at a short distance within that part which is not mere platform 5 feet deep, but huge solid foundations, perhaps 30 feet deep, that we may conclude them to have been certainly built with knowledge and with reference to the intention of the great superstructure." To this theory of the late Mr. Faussett I cannot subscribe. It was adopted, however, by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, in a paper read before the Royal Archæological Institute at Canterbury in 1875, who states, "I am inclined to think the work (*i.e.*, the cross) was intended to support a wooden superstructure." "There is an instance of a similar cross within a fortified parallelogram at Banwell in Somersetshire, outside the Roman station; but in this case the cross is formed of stones and earth thrown loosely together." Preb. Scarth likewise thought the walls—F, on my plan—were intended to support beams of wood from the central cruciform structure. The other theory is that which regards the masonry of the platform and substructure as forming an underground building, designed for great strength and solidity, which may have been an arsenal for arms or stores, and into which some entrance may yet be found. Mr. Roach Smith adopts the latter hypothesis.<sup>1</sup> While it may be easy to point out what it is not, it is not so easy to find a satisfactory solution of the problem. I would have you consider that we have proved<sup>2</sup> that the platform and substructure have nothing to do with the cruciform structure subsequently erected on it, or with the walls, which I think may have been of even a later date.

With regard to the first theory, the fact has been overlooked that the platform and substructure, some 30 feet deep, could not possibly have been required to support a Pharos, however largely proportioned we could picture it, since the Romans built their castle walls some 30 feet high and 12 feet broad, in very superficial founda-

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., *Richborough, Reculver, and Lydney*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii, p. 9.

tions on the same soil. A Pharos 200 feet high, with a base 50 feet square, would still leave the platform much in excess. Why should the masonry have this table-like top, the sides of which projected 12 feet to 10 feet beyond the substructure? Again, presuming it was only a foundation, why should it not have been formed of chalk blocks and stone, and other accessible materials, like the material of which the walls of the castrum are built? Or if a Pharos were intended, the position of it is not by any means the highest ground in the Isle of Richborough, which would have been more probably selected as the site. Again, it is assumed that the cruciform structure was part of the Pharos. I cannot imagine such a structure with a base 37 feet north and south, with a width of little more than 7 feet, with a transverse 47 feet long, 22 feet wide. Large quantities of coarse-grained oolite are found strewing the platform; a material not elsewhere found in the castrum walls, and pieces of sculptured marble have been likewise found. These seem probably to have been the remains of a temple. We have no proof that the cruciform structure was ever much higher than it is at present; it rests on a stratum of the same gravel-like substance, covering the face of the platform. It appears to me to have formed part of the prætorium, and built subsequently to the platform. Considerable confusion has been imported into the subject of the walls, F, surrounding the cruciform structure, in Mr. Faussett's note on the excavation, by his remark, as the walls, F, exactly coincide with the substructure of the platform, they must have been "built with a knowledge of, and with reference to, the deeper foundations".<sup>1</sup> Some countenance may have been given to this idea by the inaccurate drawings made by the engraver from my plan, where the walls, F, are equidistant from the dotted line representing the line of the substructure. They were, however, parallel with the outer edge of the platform, which does not coincide in width with the substructure, as the platform subtends two feet more north and south than it does east and west. Nor does it follow that these walls (which I described as of different work and build from the platform

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., *Archæologia Cantiana*, p. 1.

or the cross, and as having a width of 3 feet 6 inches) were erected with any reference to the extraordinary foundations, which may be more than 30 feet deep.<sup>1</sup> The walls, F, were so much destroyed that the foundations only of them were found north-east and north-west of the cross. I concluded that they were probably the remains of the church or chapel noticed by Leland<sup>2</sup>.

I should prefer to wait till fresh facts appear throwing light on the problems that these curious structures offer before advancing any theory to account for them, but for want of any better hypothesis I should suggest that, first, the platform and masonry below were constructed for the purposes of the fleet and harbour; that, placed as they are near the eastern edge of the precipice, they were intended to carry and hold as a strong fulcrum the Roman machinery for drawing up the ships within an intrenched camp, to protect them from the enemy, or for repairs or building, and that the wedge-shaped masonry discovered by Mr. Gleig on the eastern side of the platform was intended to facilitate this. The holes in the corners of the platform had wooden posts. The central part may have been left for a cavity of a capstan of large dimensions. At a subsequent period of the Roman occupation this platform had been utilised for the foundation of the temple and prætorium, and the walls of the castrum were made to coincide with this; the harbour being enclosed by return walls. The temple included a cruciform raised floor, perhaps with steps towards the centre. At this period foreign materials, oolite and marble, were used. Finally, a pre-Norman church is erected, enclosing the cruciform base, and built with Roman materials. I have described the walls, F, as those of a Saxon church, in my remarks on Richborough before the Royal Archæological Institute in 1876, and in a communication to the Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson, the Hon. Secretary of the Kent Archæological Society; but in our present imperfect acquaintance with Saxon architecture, it is better to call it pre-Norman. It is worthy of notice that many of the Roman castra contain a Christian church. In Kent I would particularly mention

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Leland's *Itinerary*, by Hearne, vol. vii, p. 128.



the church of Reculver,<sup>1</sup> which I described in 1878, in which case the church occupies the place of the prætorium. At Dover, a church of very early date, and built of Roman materials occupies a similar position.<sup>2</sup> And we have other instances in Kent where churches have been built of so much Roman material as to lead many to suppose they were heathen temples of Roman building, converted into Christian churches. Recent discoveries at Canterbury in connection with St. Martin's Church, and also St. Pancras, seem to confirm this view.<sup>3</sup> We have also the Cathedral of Canterbury as proof of the same.<sup>4</sup>

Mr E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, in a paper read last year before the Kent Archæological Society, has opened, or reopened, the question of Christianity among the Romans, and has referred the church of St. Martin's to "a pre-St. Augustine" date.<sup>5</sup> In this paper attention is drawn to the statement of Bede, that St. Augustine (A.D. 602) "being supported by the King, recovered at Canterbury" a church which, he was informed, had been built by the ancient Roman Christians, and "consecrated it in the name of our Holy Saviour, God and Lord, Jesus Christ, and there established a residence for himself and his successors".<sup>6</sup> This was the church, which is now the Cathedral of Canterbury, and traces of the Roman materials, if not building, still remain. Mr. Brock concludes: "We have at St. Martin's the concurrent testimony of history, and of the building that is of Roman date. We have, also, the close analogy of the work with that of St. Pancras." "In both buildings alike, the orientation, which is perfect, points to the fact that these two Roman buildings were originally intended to be churches, and that we are not regarding the remains of buildings originally erected for some other

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> "The Church on the Castle Hill, Dover", by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, *Arch. Cant.*, vol. v, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Roman Foundations of St. Pancras Church, Canterbury", by the Rev. Canon Routledge, *Arch. Cant.*, vol. xiv, pp. 103-108.

<sup>4</sup> See *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, by Professor Willis, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Also in *The Builder*, Oct. 14, 1882, p. 490.

<sup>6</sup> Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Bohm, p. 60.

destination, used at a later period for sacred worship." However, I do not think Mr. Brock has proved conclusively that St. Pancras and St. Martin's were originally built for Christian worship. But from other instances, as at Reculver, it is evident the buildings were so church-like that they were taken as a model by the church builders.

We know that a church existed at Richborough, for Leland in his *Itinerary* writes: "Within ye castel is a little paroche church of St. Augustine, and an hermitage. Not far from the hermitage is a cave where men have sowt and digged for treasure." Mr. Roach Smith, in his *History of Richborough*, states<sup>2</sup>: "The little parish church mentioned by Leland, is recorded in the will of one Sir John Launder, prebendary of Wingham, parson of Dymchurch, and vicar of Ash. The document is dated A.D. 1509, and runs thus: 'Item. I bequeath to the chappel of Richborough one portuys printed, with a mass book, which was Sir Thomas the old priest's. Item, to the use of the said chappel 20s. to make them a new window in the body of the church.'"<sup>3</sup> Mr. Roach Smith states: "The popular notion that the cruciform foundation upon the platform is the base of a cross need scarcely be refuted; and the opinion that it may have supported a Pharos is equally untenable. There is more weight in the supposition that it may have been the site of a small chapel, especially as there is evidence of the existence of one within the castrum, at a period not very remote. But the materials incline us to attribute it to the Roman times, whatever may have been its use; and on the eastern side, towards the cliff, are, or recently were, the vestiges of walls, certainly of mediæval date, which may be considered as the remains of the chapel." I searched for evidences of this mediæval wall, but the material I take to represent it I concluded to have been road foundations. As Leland wrote such a graphic account of Richborough, it is rather extraordinary that he made no notice of the cross or cruciform foundations. They were even more noticeable in 1722, when Stukeley engraved

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., *Builder*, p. 490. 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 51. See also *A Corner of Kent*, by J. R. Planché, p. 52, note.

his view of the castrum, which not only represents the cross, but also walls surmounting it. And I can only conclude they were hid by the chapel and hermitage, which was probably part of the original church. The near proximity of the cave would point to the same conclusion, for the cave was evidently the excavation below the platform on the south and the hole in the masonry below. When we discovered this excavation it had been occupied by foxes, and it was probably covered with brushwood.

With regard to the oolite found in such abundance over the platform, it is of peculiar, coarse structure, and differs from the oolite used in Norman churches. As such oolite is rare in England, much speculation has been indulged in respecting its origin. The same material occurs in the church of Reculver; the remarkable pillars now in the Cathedral Precincts, Canterbury, being formed of this material. It occurs also in the Roman Basilica at Lyminge; in the church on Dover Heights; in the church of St. Mildred, Canterbury; and is noticed by Mr. Hussey in a communication to the Kent Archæological Society;<sup>1</sup> and has been found likewise in the recent excavations at St. Pancras Church, Canterbury. In 1878, while on a visit to the Boulonnais, in company with the members of the Geologists' Association, and the members of the Geological Society of France, I noticed a quarry of similar oolite near Echinghen, about four miles from Boulogne, on the Liane river; and it is very probable the Romans brought it from this neighbourhood.

I hope this discovery of walls on the platform surrounding the cross may receive greater attention from the antiquaries than has hitherto been the case, for I am not aware that much notice has been taken of it since the year 1865, when the discovery was made; and I know of no one save Mr. Roach Smith who has even alluded to the church mentioned by Leland. It may be questioned whether the cross and surrounding walls were both part of one original design, or of different dates.

With regard to the cross pointing north and south, not east and west, I would observe it is incorrect to describe the long arm of the cruciform structure as pointing north

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Cant.*, vol. i, p. 143.

and south : it is, in fact, thirty-five degrees east of north, or nearly east-north-east, to use a nautical phrase.

Another question is to be considered in reference to the surrounding land, supposed to have been covered by the sea during the Roman occupation. When I constructed the map of this district appended to my paper in the *Cantiana*, vol. viii, I represented one arm of the Wantsum as flowing out near Ebbsfleet, leaving Stonar an island ; but since that time I have had to abandon this theory, and I now consider Stonar to have always existed as part of the Isle of Thanet, the Wantsum flowing out between Sandwich and Stonar, the beach of the latter having reached to Pegwell Bay. It has been customary to consider the landing of Hengist and Horsa, and of St. Augustine and his followers at Ebbsfleet, to have taken place directly by sea from Pegwell Bay. There are, however, weighty reasons against this theory: firstly, the word "fleet", according to the best authorities, signifies a flowing stream, as Fleet Street, the street near the stream, and Northfleet, Southfleet, Purfleet, etc., on the Thames. We have no evidences of any fleet or stream at Ebbsfleet, save the Wantsum ; and it seems pretty certain that this river flowed out to sea between Sandwich and Stonar : hence the approach to Ebbsfleet must have been from under the hill of Richborough, which thus commanded the entrance. At an early period ports and landing-places were chosen up the stream of some river where the tide did not rise or fall so much as by the sea-shore, and where the shipping was protected from the waves of the sea. Ebbsfleet, if approached from Sandwich, would fulfil this latter condition. We have evidence of other "fleets" on either side of this Wantsum, and Minsterfleet for some years shared with Sandwich the dues from shipping.

Just north of the Isle of Richborough is a large artificial excavation in the hill. I gave a description of this when I wrote the account of the Kent Society's excavation at the Castrum ; and I drew attention to its being a Roman harbour. It is just opposite a farm that goes by the name of "Fleet". A short distance from this is another "Fleet", called "Guston Fleet", at a place called Guston. Some time since a large Roman amphora was





dug up here in close proximity to the Marsh, having probably been dropped from a Roman galley.

Should my explanation of the way to Ebbsfleet, as having been from the Wantsum, below Richborough, be correct, it gives countenance to a statement of Mr. Boys, who gives a quotation from Thomas Sprott or Spotte, a monk of St. Augustine's, who, in his account of the Kings of Kent,<sup>1</sup> states,—“Upon the east part of Kent lyeth the Isle of Thanet, where Augustine with his followers landed, being in number forty persons, as it is reported, who, by his interpreter sent to King Ethelbert, gaue the King to vnderstand that he with his company was come from Rome to bring vnto him and his people the glad tidings of the Gospell; the way vnto eternall life and blisse to all them that belieue the same; which thing the King heareing, came shortly after into the Isle of Thanet, vnto his pallace or castle of *Rupichester* or Richeborow, scituate nigh the old citty of Stonehore: and the King sitting vnder the cliff or rock whereon the castle is built, commanded Augustine with his followers to be brought before him.” I cannot find the account of Thomas Sprott the monk of St. Augustine's, from which this quotation was taken; but Mr. Boys was generally very accurate in what he wrote. Bede makes no mention of the place where he landed, except that it was in the Isle of Thanet. It would be foreign to my purpose to discuss further the landing-place of St. Augustine and his followers; we have so few facts to guide us. I would merely draw attention to the fact that the cross situate within the walls of Richborough has by popular tradition been associated with the landing of St. Augustine.

In conclusion, I would urge on all interested in Archæology the importance of a more thorough exploration of the whole of the space which the walls of Richborough enclose, as well as the surrounding parts. The all-absorbing interest that has been excited by the discovery of the subterranean structure within the castrum has had the effect of diverting attention from other parts, and concentrating the efforts of various explorers to ascertain the meaning of the structures. Few Roman

<sup>1</sup> *History of Sandwich*, p. 835. For Sprott's work, see Hardy, *Catal. of Brit. Hist.*, iii, p. 208.



stations have been less disturbed by the hand of man. The Island of Richborough, after ceasing to become of importance as a port, or military station, has been deserted; and from the state of the roads and surrounding marshes, has lapsed into obscurity; other adjoining stations having risen to importance. Richborough must have been not only in Roman, but in Saxon times, a populous place. No Roman burial-place has yet been found, and but for the South Eastern Railway laying bare fragments of a domestic building on the margin of the hill, no villa or domestic building has been found. Mr. Boys drew attention to the marks of streets outside the walls on the north and west, but appears hardly to have explored them; yet these traces are still visible in the surrounding cornfields. Saxon coins and works of art have from time to time been found here; and at the brow of the hill, towards the south, Lowton, no doubt a corruption of Low Town, has been the site of Roman or Saxon buildings. Numerous coins are still found here. No buildings have disturbed the subsoil of the hill for centuries, and the plough of the husbandman doubtless annually passes over relics of the deepest interest were they brought to light. I believe Mr. Roach Smith shares with me the opinion that a wide and rich field is here awaiting the hand of explorers, and mines of archaeological wealth will reward the efforts of a systematic search within and without the walls.

The discovery of Roman remains has often been the result of accidental circumstances, such as the digging for foundations, or the opening of pits or quarries for stone or brick-earth. Surely it is not too much to expect that a small outlay judiciously expended in investigation would obtain on this site important results. The geological structure of the ground would much facilitate such research. I hope your Society may commemorate your late visit to East Kent by setting on foot such an enterprise.

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THE  
SEALS OF HENRY VI AS KING OF FRANCE.

BY THE LATE A. B. WYON, ESQ., CHIEF ENGRAVER OF  
HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(Read 6 Feb., 1884.)

IN a recent paper I attempted to reduce to order the hitherto confused history of the Great Seals of Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, for England. It seems desirable to supplement that attempt by a short account of the Great Seals and Seals of Absence used by Henry VI as King of France, with which the history of the Great Seals of England is somewhat intertwined. This seems the more desirable inasmuch as no work hitherto published contains a complete enumeration or description of the seals in question.

The *Trésor de Numismatique* gives<sup>1</sup> but one seal only of Henry VI for France, and one seal for England;<sup>2</sup> the latter not being the seal of Henry VI, but of Henry VII, for France, as I will afterwards show. The former seal is engraved, and described by Speed<sup>3</sup> and by Sandford.<sup>4</sup> The same seal is described by Wailly,<sup>5</sup> who was unaware that Henry VI used any other seal for England, and referred to by Willis,<sup>6</sup> in his often quoted paper, as Seal K. By none of the above writers is any other seal of Henry VI for France mentioned. Douët d'Arcq,<sup>7</sup> however, describes three seals of Henry VI for France, viz., the seal already mentioned, an earlier Great Seal, and a Seal of Absence. But this enumeration is still incomplete, for there are yet two more seals, of which incomplete impressions exist in the British Museum, which claim to be included in the category, and whose claims at least deserve examination.

<sup>1</sup> *Trésor, etc.*, "Sceaux de France", Plate xi, f. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Trésor, etc.*, "Sceaux des Rois et Reines d'Angleterre", Plate x, f. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Speed, *Hist. of England*, pp. 810, 820.

<sup>4</sup> Sandford, *Gen. Hist.*, pp. 246, 294.

<sup>5</sup> Wailly, *El. de Palæographie*, vol. ii, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Journ.*, No. 5, 1845.

<sup>7</sup> *Collection des Sceaux*, Nos. 10,041, 10,042, 10,043.

I propose, therefore, to give a short description of each of these five seals, of which I exhibit casts.

#### FIRST GREAT SEAL. A.

(See Plate opposite, fig. 1.) Diameter, 96 millimètres. The King seated in majesty, crowned, and holding in the right hand a long sceptre ending in a flowery ornament ; in the left hand a shorter sceptre, at the end of which is a hand in the attitude of benediction, and which is usually described as "the hand of justice".<sup>1</sup>

Over the King's head is a canopy of three ogival, pointed arches, the central arch being very wide, and low in proportion. From the sides of the King's seat spring two arms curving upwards, and terminating in a kind of fleur-de-lis ornament, sustaining two shields surmounted by two crowns ; the dexter shield bearing the arms of France alone, and the sinister bearing quarterly, first and fourth, France ; second and third, England. The crown over the shield of France is of the type borne by the Kings of France and England alike, until this period, having three fleurs-de-lis, with two intermediate points on which are usually two smaller fleurs-de-lis. The crown over the shield of England, however, has three crosses in place of the three fleurs-de-lis. This is deserving of attention, as I believe it is the earliest appearance of the three crosses in the royal crown of England, excepting the similar crown in the contemporary Seal of Absence, which I will presently describe. The third seal of Edward IV is the earliest Great Seal of England in which we find the three crosses separated by two fleurs-de-lis, as on the seal now described. The King's feet rest on two lions, couchant, regardant.

Legend : HENRICV[S DEI GRACIA] FRAN | CORVM ET ANGLIE REX.

*Counterscal.* (See fig. 2.) Diameter, 34 mm. An angel winged, holding two sceptres, and also two shields, the latter filling the lower half of the circle. The sceptre in

<sup>1</sup> A golden sceptre with an ivory hand, which would seem to be that represented in this and the following seals, is exhibited in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, as "the sceptre of the hand of justice", and is attributed to the Kings "du troisième race".



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the right hand appears to have a fleur-de-lis at the end, while that in the left hand ends in a cross. (Douët d'Arcq incorrectly describes the latter as "the hand of justice".) The two shields are charged respectively with the arms of (1), France, and (2), France and England quarterly, as on the obverse.

This seal has hitherto been unknown in England, by any cast or representation. The only reference to it in any work that I am acquainted with is in Douët d'Arcq, as above stated; and from the description of it there given it is difficult to determine whether after all it might not be the same type as the well known seal (K of Willis) engraved in *Trésor de Numismatique*, in Speed and in Sandford; the only difference mentioned being a slight difference of size, which might possibly be accounted for by unequal shrinking of the wax in different impressions. With a view to determine this point, I visited the Archives Nationales at Paris, and ascertained by examination of the original impression that this seal is of a distinct type. I obtained two casts of the seal; one of which I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum, and the other I now exhibit.

The impression of this seal in the Archives Nationales at Paris, is, so far as I can ascertain, the only impression known. It is attached to a charter (J. 153, No. 20b), dated at Paris, 28th June 1425, in the third year of the reign of Henry VI, and is attested "Par le Roi à la Relation du grant conseil tenu par l'ordonnance de Monseigneur le Regent de France Duc de Bedford."

#### SECOND GREAT SEAL. B.

Diameter, 100 mm. This seal, which is that engraved in *Trésor de Numismatique*, in Speed and in Sandford, and is Seal K of Willis, has a general resemblance at first sight to the seal last described. But the differences between these two seals, which a very hasty comparison reveals, are so marked, that the description given of it by Douët d'Arcq, "Type de majesté, comme au sceau précédent," is decidedly misleading. Besides the slight difference of size, already noted, there is a striking difference of relief; that of the second seal being

decidedly bolder, and more handsome in general effect. The following points of difference are also to be noted :—

- (1) The crown surmounting the sinister shield, that of England, charged with the arms of France and England, quarterly, instead of three crosses, has three fleurs-de-lis, precisely like the crown of France on the dexter side.
- (2) The three arches of the canopy are more equal in size, the central arch being narrower, and the side arches wider, than in the former seal.
- (3) The arches are of the simple pointed form, not ogival, as in the first seal.
- (4) The lions couchant, under the King's feet, are gardant, not regardant.
- (5) There is a circle of small cusps, with trefoiled points, just inside the inner border of the legend.
- (6) The legend is divided at the base as follows : "HENRICVS DEI GRACIA | FRANCORVM ET ANGLIE REX;" the division being after the word "GRACIA", instead of after the first syllable of the word FRAN-CORVM.

*Counterseal.* Diameter, 35 mm. The device generally resembles that of the seal last described. The relief, however, is much bolder, and the following points of difference may be observed :—(1) The sceptre in the left hand of the angel has the (so-called) hand of justice at its end, *not a cross*, as in the last. (2) The ends of the two sceptres project beyond the wings of the angel, whereas in the counterseal last described they are included within the outline of the angel's wings.

Douët d'Arcq's brief description, "*Le même qu'au sceau précédent*", is again more concise than accurate.

The impressions of this seal which I have examined are six in number, and extend over a period of twelve years, viz., from 1429 to 1440. A list of these impressions will be found in the table annexed to this paper. As the impressions of this seal are not only more numerous, but also of later date, than those of any other type described in this paper, I see no reason to doubt that, as Willis suggests, the original matrix of this seal was that "third seal of silver of a smaller form" which we find mentioned in three separate documents quoted by Rymer, as in the keeping of the English Chancellor on three different occasions, after the final loss of the French dominions.<sup>1</sup>

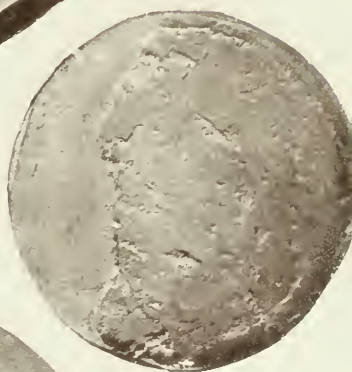
<sup>1</sup> Rymer, tom. xi, pp. 344, 383, 458.



3



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## FIRST SEAL OF ABSENCE. C.

(See fig. 3.) Diameter, 81 mm. Half-length figure of the King, standing; crowned, and holding in the right hand a long sceptre, at the end of which is a large ornament, consisting of a central flower between two foliated branches; in the left hand, a shorter sceptre, at the end of which is the (so-called) "hand of justice". The lower half of the figure is cut off by a crenellated wall, pierced in the centre by a gateway with a portcullis. In front of the wall, on either side of the gateway, is a lion couchant, regardant. On either side of the King, and partly covering the crenellated wall, is a shield, surmounted by a crown; that on the dexter side being the shield of France, charged with three fleurs-de-lis; and that on the sinister side being the shield of England, charged with the arms of France and England, quarterly. The crown above the shield of England, like that in the Great Seal first described, has three *crosses*, instead of three fleurs-de-lis, on the three principal points. And as this seal is of at least as early a date as the Great Seal first described, it must, I think, share with that seal the distinction of being the first in which the three crosses appear in the royal crown of England.

Legend: "SIGILLVM REGIVM IN ABSE[NTIA] ORDINATVM."

*Counterseal.* (See fig. 4.) Diameter, 28 mm. The design is similar to that of the counterseal of the first Great Seal. The sceptre in the left hand of the angel has a *cross* at the end; not, as Douët d'Arcq says, incorrectly, "the hand of justice". Only one impression of this seal, so far as I can ascertain, is known. It is attached to a document in the Archives Nationales at Paris, dated at Mantes, in February 1422.<sup>1</sup> Like the first Great Seal, this has hitherto not been described in any English work, and has been unknown by any cast or representation until quite recently, when I presented the British Museum with a cast, a duplicate of which I now exhibit.

<sup>1</sup> Old style; 1423, new style.



## SECOND SEAL OF ABSENCE. D.

(See fig. 5.) Diameter unknown. This seal is known as yet by one impression only, and that very imperfect and fragmentary; so much so, indeed, that a complete description is impossible. It appears, however, to represent the King seated in majesty, as on the two Great Seals already described, the King's feet resting on two lions couchant. The right hand of the King is brought in front of the middle of the body, which at once distinguished this seal from the three seals already described. Both hands appear to hold sceptres, of which the ends, however, are wanting; as also are the head of the King and about half of the seal.

No portion of the legend remains.

The counterseal (see fig. 6) measures 47 mm. in diameter, being of much larger size than the other counterseals described in this paper. No description can be given of its device, which has the appearance of having been deliberately rubbed and scraped, while the wax was warm, so as to obliterate it.

The solitary impression which is known of this seal is attached to a document in the British Museum, of some historical interest. It is an order of Henry King of France and England to the Treasurer General of Normandy for repayment to Jehan Stanlawe, Treasurer, of the amount advanced by him to the Earl of Arundel, for the suppression of the insurrection in the Bailliage of Caen. The document is dated as follows—"Donné a Rouen le xxij jour d'Avril l'an de grace mil cccc trente et cinq. Soubz n're seel ordonné en l'absence du grant, et de n're regne le xiiij<sup>me</sup>." "Par le roi a la rel'on de monseigneur le gouvernant et regent de France duc de Bedford."

The words quoted show that the seal used was a Seal of Absence. The document gives a concise but graphic account of the principal facts connected with the insurrection in Normandy, which is described by Speed, by Monstrelet,<sup>1</sup> and Sismondi.<sup>2</sup>

A review of these four seals naturally raises the ques-

<sup>1</sup> Monstrelet, vol. i, p. 632.

<sup>2</sup> Sismondi, vol. xiii, p. 241.





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tion, why were the first Great Seal and the first Seal of Absence superseded, as we see they were, by the second? I have been unable to find any evidence to supply an answer to this question. I think, however, it is worth notice that the crosses on the English crowns, and also the cross on the end of the sceptre in the left hand of the angel, in both the first seals, have disappeared in the second Great Seal; the crosses on the crown being replaced by the fleurs-de-lis, and the cross on the sceptre by the so-called hand of justice. It may be that these crosses, which were at all events novelties, did not find favour. The sceptre with the hand of justice so called, is a distinctively French emblem, appearing on all the Royal Seals from the time of Louis X (1314-1316) to the Second Empire, and appears on the obverse of each of the first two seals of Henry VI in the hand of the King. The sceptre with the cross at the end is not found on any of the French royal seals, except these two.

The fifth seal (see fig. 7) which claims our attention, as purporting to be one of Henry VI as King of France, is one attached to a document in the British Museum (Add. Ch. 11,547), described in the Catalogue of Additional Charters as "Letters patent of Henry King of France and England, confirming the grant by Charles VI, late King of France, to the late Charlot Mansergent, of the land of Quinquernon, in the Bailliage of Evreux (Normandy), in favour of Jehan Mansergent, the son, dated 7th December 1425." The charter is dated at Paris, 7th December 1425, and the following words in the charter, "En temoing de ce nous avons fait mettre notre seel a ces presentes", would naturally lead us to expect to find attached the Great Seal of the King. We should not expect it to be either of the Seals of Absence, because whenever the Seal of Absence is used, we find words expressly mentioning the fact in the document itself. The impression is fragmentary, and the device is difficult to trace. A first glance, however, shows it to be clearly and strikingly unlike either of the royal seals already described. The device is that of a mounted warrior, galloping to the right, holding a shield in front of his body. The general outline of the warrior's head and figure, of his shield, of the horse's head, neck, and body,

the reins, and the flowing folds of the horse's caparison, may be traced; and also the general outline of a small shield in the field, behind the horseman. The portion of the seal where we would expect to find the legend has the appearance of having been rubbed or scraped away, so as to remove the legend; and a circular line has been cut or pressed into the wax near the circumference, as if for the purpose of restoring some appearance of a border, after the removal of the proper border and legend.

The counterseal (see fig. 8) is 38 mm. in diameter. This also has the appearance of having been purposely obliterated, with the exception of the border, which consists of a narrow moulding, containing a series of very small fleurs-de-lis.

The fact of the device of the seal being equestrian, at once excludes it from the category of the royal seals of France, which invariably represent the monarch seated in majesty, and never on horseback. The undoubted Great Seals of Henry VI, which we have described, are no exceptions to this rule. The fact of the counterseal being of much smaller size than the obverse, equally excludes it from the category of royal seals of England. For these reasons, this seal cannot be a true seal of Henry VI, or a royal seal at all. The questions then remain (1), what seal can it be? and (2), how comes it to be attached to letters patent of Henry VI?

I believe the answer to the first question is, that the seal of which this is an impression is that of Philip Duke of Burgundy. I formed this opinion on comparing this seal with an engraving of the Duke of Burgundy's seal in Wailly,<sup>1</sup> and this opinion has been confirmed beyond a doubt by a further comparison with a cast of the seal referred to by Wailly, which I have obtained from the Archives Nationales at Paris. The measurements of such parts as are measurable in the British Museum impression, absolutely agree with the Paris impression. And many points which are undistinguishable in the former, when looked at alone, become quite recognisable when compared with the latter. For example, (1), the links of the chain which form the lower half of

<sup>1</sup> *Et. de Paléographie*, vol. ii, Pl. N, f. 3.

the bridle, the upper half being the usual leather strap ; (2), the left hand of the warrior holding the reins ; (3), the outline of the front of the saddle. The fleurs-de-lis on the horse's caparison covering the neck, and especially the inverted fleurs-de-lis behind the horse's hind quarter, are also points of identification which cannot be mistaken when once perceived. The reader will be able to test the identity for himself, by comparing figures 7 and 8, which represent the seal in the British Museum, with figures 9 and 10, which represent the seal of the Duke of Burgundy in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

The impression of the seal in the Paris Archives is attached to a document, dated 1424, which proves that the seal was in use by the Duke of Burgundy in the year previous to that in which these letters patent of Henry VI are dated. And Wailly states that this seal continued to be used by the same Duke of Burgundy until March 1429. Having identified this seal with that of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, we still have before us the second question, namely, how comes it to be attached to these royal letters patent? It may to some extent help us if we remember the principal facts which connect the history of this powerful noble with that of Henry VI. This Philip was Duke of Burgundy from 1419 to 1467 ; that is, throughout the whole reign of Henry VI. He was nominated Regent of France by the dying voices both of Henry V of England, and Charles VI of France ; and although he declined that post in favour of John, Duke of Bedford, who became his brother-in-law, he was virtually the arbiter of the destinies of France. His alliance was the mainstay of the English power in France, until his quarrel with the Duke of Bedford, and his desertion of the English cause in 1434, turned the scale of fortune in favour of Charles VII, and led to the expulsion of the English. During the twelve years which preceded this desertion, we find the English Regent constantly apprehensive of such an event, straining every nerve to conciliate the Duke of Burgundy, bestowing upon him one town after another,<sup>1</sup> and enormous sums of money.<sup>2</sup> In 1429, the government and

<sup>1</sup> Michelet, *Hist. de France*, vol. v, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Barante, vol. v, p. 76.

the guard of Paris were confided to him, by royal letters under one of the Great Seals we have described. This was shortly followed by other royal grants, also referred to in the annexed table, conferring upon him the rich counties of Champagne and Brie. It is even stated by some historians (although I am inclined to doubt their accuracy on this point) that at this date, 1429, the Regency itself was conferred on him.<sup>1</sup> These and other facts, which it would be tedious to enumerate, show that this Duke of Burgundy occupied a position of extraordinary power, probably far greater in reality than that of either of the rival contending kings, and not very unlike that occupied by the celebrated Earl of Warwick, the "Kingmaker", towards the end of Henry VI's reign in England.

At the date of the document before us, 7th December 1425, the English Regent, whose name does not appear in it, had just left Paris for England, whither he had been urgently summoned to appease the quarrel between the Bishop of Winchester and the Duke of Gloucester, leaving the Earl of Warwick in command, during his absence. I find no positive record of the Duke of Burgundy's presence in Paris at the precise date in question; but Barante states that he went there after the battle of Verneuil, which was fought in August of the same year,<sup>2</sup> and was present at a succession of *fêtes* which then took place. It may be that the Regent's sudden departure made the Great Seal difficult of access. It is also possible that the state of disorganisation in which we find the Paris law courts in 1429, already existed.<sup>3</sup> It may be that the person in whose favour this title deed

<sup>1</sup> Barante, vol. vi, p. 54; Sismondi, vol. xiii, pp. 155, 174.

<sup>2</sup> This date is given by Speed, following the chronicles of Hall, Stow, Polydore Virgil, etc., although Monstrelet seems to place the battle in 1424.

<sup>3</sup> Michelet, *Hist. de France*, vol. v, p. 91, says, "Le regent ne pouvait payer son parlement, cette cours cessa tout service, et l'entrée même du jeune Roi Henri ne put être selon l'usage écrite avec quelque détail sur les registres, 'parceque le parchemin manquait.' 'Ob defectum pergameni, et eclipsium justiciæ.' Registre du parlement cité dans la preface du t. xiii des Ordonnances, p. lxvii, pour escrire les plaidoeries et les arretz ... plusieurs fois a convenu par necessité ... que les greffiers ... à leurs despens aient acheté et payé pour le parchemin."—*Archives registres du parlement*, Samedi, 20 Janvier 1431.



was drawn was in the favour, or under the protection of, the Duke of Burgundy; and it is conceivable that in the eyes of such a person, and of Frenchmen generally, the seal of the great Duke would be of at least equal value with the royal seal itself; possibly even of greater value in the event of a change of king.

It is true that these suggestions do not explain the difficulty of the apparently deliberate removal of the legend from the impression in question. The facts before us remain sufficiently curious to invite further elucidation. But whatever may be the final explanation, the seal before us, taken in connection with the charter to which it is attached, must ever remain a striking and curious illustration of some of the principal facts of the history of that time; bringing vividly before us the disorganised condition of France, as a result of several distinct causes, viz.: the war between two rival kings for its sovereignty; the government by a Regent on behalf of a minor and absentee king; the further confusion caused by the enforced absence of the Regent himself, when sorely needed at his post, in consequence of fatal disunion in England itself; and the extraordinary power and prestige, which this combination of causes augmented, of the great feudatory prince, the Duke of Burgundy.

Before leaving the subject of the Great Seals used by Henry VI in France, I may mention that I find one of the documents in the Archives Nationales at Paris, relating to the grant of the counties of Champagne and Brie to the Duke of Burgundy, sealed with the Great Seal for England; that, namely of the Brétigny type, which was the seal in ordinary use throughout this reign in England.

The last seal to which I have to refer is one which I think it necessary to mention, because it is erroneously given in the *Trésor de Numismatique* as the only seal of Henry VI for England. Wailly describes this seal<sup>1</sup> as that of Henry VII, and Willis, following Wailly, also so describes it, naming it Seal N. As neither of these authors refers to any dated impression, I think it desirable now to state that I have ascertained by personal examination that the single dated impression which is known of

<sup>1</sup> Wailly, vol. ii, p. 116.



this seal is attached to a document in the Archives Nationales at Paris,<sup>1</sup> thus described on the document itself, "Lettres du Roy d'Angleterre confirmative du traité fait entre le Roy nostre sire et lui à Etaples." It is dated at Calais, 11th November, A.D. 1492, "in the eighth year of our reign." This proves the seal to be that of Henry VII for French affairs. It follows the French type, representing the King seated in majesty on the obverse; the counterseal being small, and similar in device to the (French) counterseals of Henry VI. A comparison of the obverse of this seal with that of Henry VII for England, shows great similarity of style, as will be seen in the casts which I exhibit.

I annex a table of the impressions which I have examined of the seals of Henry VI, described in this paper; and also an analysis of the various documents of Henry VI relating to French affairs, to which I have found such seals, or other Great Seals, attached.

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*Analysis of Charters relating to French Affairs, under the Great Seal, or Seal of Absence, of Henry VI as King of France.*

- I.—First Seal of Absence, dated at Nantes, Feb. 1423 (New Style).  
Paris, Arch. Nationales, V<sup>2</sup>, 2 (formerly V, 587, No. 1201).

Letters patent of Henry VI of England, confirming privileges granted to the Secretaries of the King by Charles VI, 25 May 1405.

"Donné a *Mante* au mois du février l'an de grace mil quatre cent vingt et deux,<sup>2</sup> et de nostre regne le premier. Scellé de nostre seel ordonné en l'absence du grant.

"Par le Roy à la relation de Monseigneur le regent de France, duc de Bedford."

(Signed) MILET.

- II.—First Great Seal, dated at Paris, 28 June 1425. Paris, Arch. Nat., J. 153, No. 20b.

Order of Henry VI of England to his Gentlemen of the Parliament, and of the Provostship of Paris, to annul the procedure in a trial between Guillaume Languin of the one part, and Pierre Chaussée, Librarian of the University of Paris, of the other part, on the subject, among other matters, of a book entitled *Tristan de Lyonnais*, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Arch. Nat., J. 648.

<sup>2</sup> Old style.

“ En temoing de ce, nous avons fait mettre *notre seel* à ces presentes. Donné à *Paris* le 28<sup>e</sup> jour de juing, l’an de grace 1425 et de nostre regne le tiers.

“ Par le Roy à la relation du grant Conseil tenu par l’ordonnance de Monseigneur le Regent de France duc de Bedford.”

(Signed) CALOT.

III.—Seal of Philip Duke of Burgundy, used instead of the Royal Seal. Dated at Paris, 7 Dec. 1425. British Museum, Add. Charters, 11,547.

Letters patent of Henry King of France and England, confirming the grant of Charles VI, late King of France, to the late Charlot Mansergent of the land of Quinquernon, in the Bailliage of Evreux, Normandy, in favour of Jehan Mansergent, the son, on payment of an annual rent.

“ En temoing de ce nous avons fait mettre *notre seel* à ces presentes. Donne à *Paris* le vij<sup>e</sup> jour de Decembre l’an de grace mil cccc vingt et cinq ..... de nostre regne le iiij<sup>me</sup>.

“ Par le Roy à la relation du grant conseil.”

(Signed) MILET.

IV.—Second Great Seal, dated at Paris, 13 Oct. 1429. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Chartes de Colbert, 534.

Letters patent of Henry VI, King of France and England, confiding to Philip Duke of Burgundy the government and the guard of Paris.

V.—Second Great Seal, dated at Eltham, 8 March 1430 (New Style). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Chartes de Colbert, 535.

Henry VI, King of France and England, grants to Philip Duke of Burgundy, in appanage, the counties of Champagne and Brie.

“ Donne à notre manoir de Eltham, le 8<sup>e</sup> jour de Mars, l’an de grace 1429,<sup>1</sup> et de nostre regne le 8<sup>e</sup>.”

VI.—Second Great Seal, dated at Eltham, 8 March 1430 (New Style). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Chartes de Colbert, 536.

Henry VI grants to Philip Duke of Burgundy the taxes, imposts, etc., of the counties of Champagne and Brie.

“ Donne en nostre manoir de Eltham, le 8<sup>ve</sup> jour de Mars, l’an de grace 1429<sup>1</sup> et de nostre regne le 8<sup>e</sup>.”

VII.—Great Seal for *England* (=G 4 of Willis), datéd at Westminster, 12 March 1430 (New Style). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Chartes de Colbert, 537.

Letters patent of Henry VI concerning the above mentioned concessions.

“ Datum in palatio nostro Westmonasterii 12 die Marcii, anno regnorum nostrorum Francie et Anglie 8<sup>o</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Old style.

VIII.—Second Great Seal, dated at Rouen, 2 Sept. 1430. Paris, Arch. Nationales, J. 211, No. 48.

Confirmation by Henry VI of letters of Henry V of England, given at Menorval, near Dreux, 20 August, in the ninth year of his reign, declaring the fiefs and lands of Orbec, Auge, Pont Anthon, and Pont Audemer, which had been granted to Thomas Duke of Clarence, reunited to the duchy of Normandy after the death of the said Thomas Duke of Clarence.

“Datum in villâ nostrâ Rothomagensis, die 2<sup>a</sup> mensis Septembris anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo, et regni nostri octavo.”

“Per regem ad relationem sui magni consilii *penes eum* existentis.”

*Note.*—The King was then at Rouen, before his coronation.

IX.—Second Seal of Absence, dated at Ronen, 22 April 1435. London, British Museum, Add. Ch. 11,847.

Order of Henry VI, King of France and England, to Pierre Surreau, Treasurer General of Normandy, for repayment to Jehan Stanlawe, Treasurer, of the amount advanced by him to the Earl of Arundel for the suppression of the insurrection in the Bailliage of Caen, in January last past.

“Donne a Rouen le xxij jour d’Avril l’an de grace mil cccc trente et cinq. *Soulz notre seel ordonne en l’absence du grant* ..... de notre regne le xij<sup>me</sup>.”

“Par le Roy a la relation du monseigneur le gouvernant et regent de France, duc de Bedford.”

(Signed) BROWNING.

X.—Second Great Seal, dated at Ronen, 22 Nov. 1436. London, Brit. Museum, Add. Ch. 131.

Letters patent of Henry VI appointing Emond Bron, Viconte, and Emond Hauton, salt-storekeeper, of Verneuil, and comptroller of the garrison, by the advice of Richard Duke of York, *Lieutenant-General* and *Governor* of France and Normandy, to take and receive the musters of the Sire de Fauquemberge Captain of the town and Castle of Verneuil, and to certify the same, under his hand and seal, to the Treasurer and Receiver General of Normandy, making oath before the nearest sheriff (*viconte*) to the truth of the said musters.

“Donne a Rouen le xij<sup>me</sup> jour de Novembre l’an de grace mil quatre cent trente six et de notre regne le quinziesme.”

“Par le Roy a la relation de Monsr. le duc de York, lieutenant general et gouverneur des royaumes de France et duchie de Normandie.”

XI.—Second Great Seal, dated at Rouen, 26 Sept. 1440. London, Brit. Museum, Cott. xii, 72.

Confirmation by Henry VI of a grant by John de Beaufort (*first*) Duke of Somerset, *Lieutenant and Governor General of France and Normandy*, to Richard Norton, Esq., of the possessions of Colin de la Croix, Esq., a rebel.

“Donne a Rouen le xxvj<sup>e</sup> jour de Septembre l’an de grace mil quatre cent quarante, et de notre regne le dix huitiesme.

“Par le Roy a la relation du grant conseil.”

(Signed) LOMBART.

# GREAT SEALS AND SEALS OF ABSENCE OF HENRY VI AS KING OF FRANCE.

## TABLE OF CHARTERS TO WHICH IMPRESSIONS ARE ATTACHED.

Type.	Where found.	Where dated.	Date.	Anno Regni.	Anno Domini	Where previously de-cribed or figured.
A First Great Seal (See figs. 1 and 2)	Arch. Nat., J. 153, No. 20b	Paris	28 June	3	1425	Douët d'Arcq, <i>Collection des Sceaux</i> , No. 10,041
B Second Great Seal	Bibl. Nat., Chartes Colb., 534* " " 535 " " 536 Arch. Nat., J. 211, No. 48 Brit. Mus., Add. Ch., 131 " Cott. xii, 72	Paris Eltham Eltham Rouen Rouen Rouen	13 Oct. 8 March 8 March 2 Sept. 22 Nov. 26 Sept.	8 8 8 8† 15 18	1429 1430† 1430† 1430† 1436 1440	Douët d'Arcq, No. 10,042 { <i>Trésor de Numismatique</i> { <i>Sceaux de France</i> , Pl. xi, f. 3 Speed, * <i>Hist. of England</i> , pp. 810, 820 Sandford, <i>Gen. Hist.</i> , pp. 246, 294 Wailly, <i>El. de Paléographie</i> , vol. 2, p. 115 Willis, <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , No. 5 (Seal K) Bireh's <i>Tabular Synopsis</i> (R. 3) Brit. Mus. Phot., Pl. 963 ff. 1, 2
C First Seal of Absence (See figs. 3 and 4)	Arch. Nat., V. <sup>2</sup> , 2 (formerly V. 587, No. 1201)	Mantes	Feb.	1	1423†	Douët d'Arcq, 10,043
D Second Seal of Absence (See figs. 5 and 6)	Brit. Mus., Add. Ch., 11,847	Rouen	22 April	13	1435	Not hitherto described or figured
E Seal of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, used for the royal Seal (See figs. 7, 8; 9, and 10)	" " 11,547	Paris	7 Dec.	4	1425	Not hitherto identified, but see Wailly, vol. 2, Pl. N, f. 3, and <i>Trésor de Numismatique</i> , <i>Sceaux des Grands Feudataires</i> , Pl. xv, f. 3

\* Speed, who engraves this seal, refers (p. 820) to an impression which he had seen, attached to a document dated in the seventh year of Henry VI.

† So in the original. The 2nd Sept. 1430 was, however, the second day of the ninth year of the reign of Henry VI.

+ New style.

## ST. MARGARET'S-AT-CLIFFE, KENT.

BY REV. E. C. LUCEY, M.A., VICAR.

*(Read at the Dover Congress, August 1883.)*

As regards the parish of St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, the geographical position of this place is literally on the South Foreland. Yonder—the north-east—we see over to Pegwell Bay and Ramsgate : in the front of us—seaward—are the Straits of Dover ; we are the nearest point to France ; the distance straight across being only eighteen miles ; to the south lie Dover and its bay.

It is, perhaps, not known to many of my listeners that within ten minutes' walk of where they are standing, there is a very pretty little bay, with excellent bathing ; but those who cannot swim should be careful, owing to the steep and changing nature of the beach ; and excellent prawns and lobsters in the season, which Murray, in his *Handbook for Kent*, declares are the best in England for flavour.

The healthiness of the locality, its pure and bracing air, its fine sea-bathing, and extensive views over the Straits to the opposite coast of France, are all becoming more and more known and appreciated ; and in a few years I shall not be surprised if the interest your noble President, Lord Granville, takes in the place results in a second Folkestone.

In the reign of Henry VII, during the primacy of Archbishop Morton, a small pier existed in the bay, constructed by one Thomas Lawrence, for the defence of the fishing craft. The prawns and lobsters at this early period were, no doubt, as much appreciated as they are now. I mention the bay thus prominently, because it is possible that the Romans had a landing-place in it, and some might be bold enough to say that Julius Cæsar landed there.

The high land to the eastward is the site of a Roman encampment ; and on the top of the bay hill, in what now appears to be a small chalk pit, but which was



evidently a Roman or Saxon burial place, human teeth were once taken out in such quantities as to make it worth while to send them to a London dentist, while the flints found with them were used for the purpose of making a wall. From this encampment, my impression is that the Romans had a road across the Downs to Deal and Richborough. There are tumuli yet to be met with on what is still the free down (and are in fact marked on the Ordnance Map), which help to strengthen the idea. I assisted at the opening of one of these some years ago ; human bones, teeth, pieces of charcoal, and even some flint implements, were found—the teeth being remarkably perfect. I may add that coins are occasionally met with. In a case I have placed in the vestry may be seen an ancient British gold coin, recently washed up on the shore ; a Roman denarius of the Titurian family, struck probably B.C. 88, commemorative of the rape of the Sabines—the Titurian family were evidently of Sabine origin ; and counters of the sixteenth century, probably made at Nuremberg. The larger one I found myself between the church and the vicarage. From this we may suppose that some trade was carried on with that great merchant city of the middle ages. I also exhibit a silver penny of Edward I.

We have seen there was evidently a Roman occupation of this place. Later on came the Normans, no doubt from Dover, for the road running at the bottom of the vicarage field is still called the Norman Road ; and although I do not know that they were, like the Romans, famous for road making, the road is still a very good and straight one, and anyone walking back by it to Dover this evening will have a very pleasant walk, fine sea views, and towards the close of his walk one of the best views of Dover Castle.

The Normans no doubt made use of the Roman way across the downs, and perhaps in the bay landed the Caen stone, of which the church is built. Whether my suppositions are correct or not, it is quite clear that the Normans must have taken a deep interest in this elevated spot, or why should they have erected here such a noble specimen of their architectural skill ? It speaks for itself ; its stone walls and rich mouldings and striking west doorway, emblematic of the Holy Trinity, are elo-

quent with the associations of many centuries. It probably dates back to the days of King Stephen, 1135-1154, or King Henry II, 1154-1189. The early history of it is, unfortunately, involved in obscurity. It has been called a "Quarter Cathedral". Such an expression is, I believe, to be met with in some books on architecture, and in the west of England, where it means a church with a prebendary attached to it.

Before we proceed to examine the porch of the church, the following items, together with a notice of the curfew, which is still rung here during the winter months, may be of interest.

Wanston Farm, in the days of Henry VIII, was held by the Uptons. Their descendants still live in the village. The Manor of St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, otherwise Palmer's or East Court, most probably in former days constituted part of the possessions of St. Martin's Priory at Dover, and so continued until the dissolution. The Manor of Reach, commonly called Ridge, also constituted part of the possessions of St. Martin's in Dover, it being so registered in the survey of *Domesday*. At the suppression of religious houses, this Manor, with the advowson of the Church of St. Margaret, did not long remain in the King's hands, as they were granted by Henry VIII, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, in exchange, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which state they still remain. The church then, we find, was an appendage to the Manor of Reach Court, and part of the possessions of St. Martin's, whereto it was early appropriated, and a vicarage endowed therein, A.D. 1296 (24 Edward I).

In Henry VIII's time the vicar had a pension of 40s. per annum. Archbishop Juxon, in the days of Charles I, increased the living to £26, which was confirmed by Charles II; eventually it rose to the magnificent sum of £46. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners of modern days have been more considerate. The old vicarage having been burnt down in 1721, a new one was built a few years back, and the living increased in value.

For ecclesiastical purposes the adjoining parish of West Cliff was added, a few years ago, to St. Margaret's. You passed the little church on your way here. It has no

very striking architectural features about it, but it is interesting because it was founded by Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I. She gave with it an acre of land, and the advowson to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, in perpetual alms, free from secular service, in exchange for the port of Sandwich. In 1327, being the second year of the reign of Edward III, the parsonage was appropriated to the almonry of the Priory, for maintaining the chantry founded by Prior Henry de Estry. In this situation it continued till the dissolution.

The Manor of West Cliff, or Wallet's Court, was, under the reign of the Conqueror, part of the possessions of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. On the disgrace of that prelate the Manor was granted to Hamo de Crevequer; after which it passed into the hands of the Criol family, and so on, until Edward I and his Queen had possession of it. In Edward III's reign it seems to have been no longer vested in the Crown, but to have passed through the hands of the Cotham family, to Sir Edwin Borough of Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, until, in the fifteenth year of Elizabeth, it was held by one Thomas Gibbon, one of the ancestors of the great historian. There is still a small stone in the chancel to the memory of some of this family.

Signs of the Norman Conquest are still to be met with in the names of some of the places here. Bere Farm, for instance, was once accounted a Manor, and constituted part of the possessions of a family so named. William de Bere was Bailiff of Dover in the second and fourth years of Edward I. The present resident is named Eastes—a name not uncommon in this district. Can any connection be traced between this name and the founder of the chantry at West Cliff—Prior Henry de Estry? Solton, again, formed part of the possessions of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. In Henry III's reign part of this estate was vested in the Hospital of Maison Dieu, in Dover.

The registers of both parishes are in very good order. That of St. Margaret's dates back to 1558. There are not any very striking entries, except one with regard to the due ringing of the Curfew Bell. This is still rung here during the winter months, and with this extract I



close my notes. The following is a minute of a vestry meeting held September 1696 :—

“Whereas there has beene, and is at this time, a parcell of land in this parish, called by the name of the Curfew Land (*corfeu*), consisting of five rods more or less ; which for some time since hath been given by a shepherd, who one night fell over the cliff, yet lived so long as to make the said bequest for ringing of a curfew bell at eight of the clock every night for the winter half-yeare, viz., from Michaelmas Day to Lady Day ; and now, finding the great neglect for some yeares past in the due ringing thereof, and to prevent, for the future, any danger which may ensue to travellers and others being so neare the cliff for want of the due and constant ringing, if possible the like sad Providence may not befall any others—we, the Minister, Churchwardens, and others, the parishioners, whose names are underwritten, in reference to the performance of the donor’s good intent, herein do hereby order and decree that the said Curfew Bell be hereafter rung (as at the neighbouring parishes it is), constantly every night in the week, all the aforesaid winter half yeare, the full time of a quarter of an hour at the least, without any exceptions of Sunday nights or Holy-day nights ; and he that rings is to have and receive the benefit and profit of the said Curfew Land, provided also that he whosoever is or shall be Clerk of the Parish shall have the refusal of it before any other, if he will accordingly perform the contents above specified. But, if not, then it shall be at the Minister’s and Churchwardens’ disposal to let any other have it, who will ring it accordingly. And in case it shall not be constantly rung, as is above specified, it shall be lawful for the said Minister and Churchwardens to receive the rent from him who occupies the said land, and to deduct out of it, for every night it shall not be rung, two pence for any commission, which shall be given to the poor that come constantly to church. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

“WM. BARNEY, S. Marg., Vicar.

“JOHN CHITTY, Churchwarden.”

## SAINT AUGUSTINE, AND AUGUSTINE THE MONK AND ARCHBISHOP.

BY F. R. SURTEES, ESQ.

(Read at the Dover Congress, 1883.)

A NOT uncommon error amongst archæologists, is to write and speak of Augustine, the monk-archbishop of Canterbury and converter of Ethelbert, King in the sixth century, to Christianity, as *Saint* Augustine, a title of canonization which alone of the two Augustines should belong to St. Augustine, the Father and Bishop of Hippo, who died 430 A.D., and to whom, by common, universal consent it has been invariably given.

The term of Saint applied to both promotes confusion, and should therefore be discontinued, unless it can be shown that Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, has a like right to it with his illustrious predecessor, the voluminous writer and author of *The City of God*.

Churches undoubtedly have been, and are being occasionally dedicated to Augustine of Canterbury as *Saint* Augustine; but that fact of itself establishes no right to the prefix. We find Fuller, Southey, and the best writers on English Church history terming him *Augustine* only. Thus Fuller: "The doctrine which *Augustine* planted here not impure, and his successors made worse by watering"; and Southey: "Augustine was too eminent a man to be mentioned without respect." Still Jeremy Taylor has written of him as *Saint* Augustine, and other writers have, I dare say, done so also.

Taking *Wheatly on the Common Prayer* as a high authority, we find that in his prefatory remarks to the Calendar, he states that in both books of Common Prayer of King Edward VI's reign, all Saints' days were omitted, except St. George's Day, Lammas, St. Thomas, and St. Clement's; but as many Saints' days were retained in Courts of Justice for returns of writs, etc., as well as otherwise for certain handicrafts, the Saints' days were subsequently returned to the Calendar, and Wheatly then, with much precision, gives these different days *seriatim* in each month of the year, that is, days of canonization and days of commemoration, from January



to December. His prefatory remarks are well worth a perusal, and it should be observed that some names are given by Wheatly in the Calendar with the prefix of *Saint*, as *Saint* Ambrose; but others not so. We ought not to take the terms in daily conversational use as of any value: no fixed rule is observed in that matter. Thus we speak of Valentine's Day (not Saint Valentine's); and yet Swithin is termed *Saint* Swithin in common parlance.

Wheatly, in the Calendar for the month of March, when naming Pope Gregory, has observed that his memory was celebrated in England for sending "Austin the monk (not St. Austin) with forty other missionaries to convert the Saxons, from whence he got the name of Apostle of the English; whilst he was here he was made Archbishop of Canterbury, etc.; he deceased the 26th of May, about the year 610,"—not a word as to his being canonized as St. Augustine.

Proceeding next to Wheatly's Calendar for the month of August, 28th of that month, we find he thus writes:—"Saint Augustin (that is, the Father and author) was born at Togaste, a town in Numidia, in Africa, in the year 354." Wheatly then proceeds to give a brief account of his career, of his being made Bishop of Hippo, and adds: "He was a great and judicious divine, and the most voluminous writer of all the Fathers; he died in the year 430, at 77 years of age." Is it to be maintained that when Wheatly, than whom there cannot be a higher authority, terms one Augustine—viz., the *monk*-Augustine—merely, and writes of the other as *Saint* Augustine in the Calendar, it is a distinction without a difference, while inattention to the difference tends to confuse the two names in history? But, further, if additional authority is wanted, we need only turn to the Calendar prefixed to our Prayer-books; thus, in the latest edition, we find—"May 26, Augustine Archbishop," and "August 28, Saint Augustine, Bishop."

It will be superfluous to add, that the mere fact of a day having been set apart by the Church as a festival in honour of a person of pious memory, as for example the Venerable Bede, does not necessarily imply that that individual is to be taken as a saint in the Calendar; for there is a wide difference between canonization and commemoration in the Calendar.

## ON A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ROLL

CONTAINING

## PRAYERS AND MAGICAL SIGNS,

PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P., SUB-DEAN OF ST PAUL'S  
CATHEDRAL.*(Read February 20, 1884.)*

A CERTAIN fascination still belongs to magic and to the mystic signs by which the practitioners of the Black Art imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant. The alchemist has, indeed, retired from the scene with his marvellous apparatus; but his cell still forms a subject for the painter's art. The low-browed vault, the pendent crocodile, the sapient owl, the silent-flying bat, the clear crystal ball, the crucible, the ruddy flame, the glowing metal soon to be transmuted, the hoary sage with sable, flowing robe and snowy hair and slender divining rod, still form a picture not without a charm and special interest of its own.

The sage himself exists no longer. He has suffered a more wonderful transmutation than even he had ever dreamed of as he pondered year after year on the *elixir vite*. He is transformed into the chemist, who has discovered the true Philosopher's Stone, by virtue of which the most exquisite dyes are deduced from the most unpromising materials, the attenuated wire carries beneath the ocean's bed the words and thoughts of a whole continent, or conveys the subtle fluid which illuminates our houses with a brilliancy before unknown; the chemist who, if he cannot turn the baser metals into gold, can at least build up colossal fortunes by his skill,—fortunes large enough to dazzle even the brain of the old alchemist as he pored over the secret language in which his predecessors had veiled, only too completely, the discoveries they had achieved.

The belief in witchcraft, too, is dying fast. The village

school, the railway, and the newspaper, are its sworn foes. It seems scarcely credible now that in 1644, 1645, and 1646, one Matthew Hopkins, who assumed to himself the name of "The Witch Finder", should have travelled through the Eastern Counties seeking his wretched victims; and that as the result of his labours, with the Earl of Warwick on the bench, and no less eminent a divine than Dr. Calamy sitting at his side, not fewer than "sixteen persons were hanged for witchcraft at Yarmouth in Norfolk, fifteen at Chelmsford, and sixty at various places in the county of Suffolk."<sup>1</sup> It is true, no doubt, that Matthew Hopkins did not ultimately escape scot-free. The credulous people who had been his dupes put him to a favourite test of his own,—dragged him to a pond, and threw him into the water for a witch. He was found out at last; but a terrible sacrifice had been offered to public credulity before the discovery was made.

It seems incredible now that such a judge as Sir Matthew Hale, a man "equally distinguished for his piety and inflexible integrity",<sup>2</sup> with Sir Thomas Browne, the author of the *Religio Medici*, present in his court, could, so late as the year 1664, have sentenced to death two poor women who were accused of bewitching some children, and who were hanged at Bury St. Edmunds on the 17th of March, one week after their trial.

It was not, however, till 1736 that a statute was passed "repealing the law made in the first year of James I, and enacting that no capital prosecution should for the future take place for conjuration, sorcery, and enchantment; but restricting the punishment of persons pretending to tell fortunes, and discover stolen goods by witchcraft, to that appertaining to a misdemeanor."<sup>3</sup> We now punish as a rogue and a vagabond, with a little wholesome hard labour, the man or woman who, only a couple of centuries ago, would have been consigned, without much hesitation, to the gallows. Deep-rooted superstitions, however, take a long time to pluck up, and there are plenty of dark, out-of-the-way corners where the old, foolish fancies still linger. One or two cases shall be selected from the newspapers of the past year.

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Lives of the Necromancers*, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 464.

*The Times* of April 23, 1883, furnishes a very remarkable instance of the hold which ancient credulity still maintains upon the Breton mind.

"At the Côtes-du-Nord Assizes five days have been occupied with a mysterious case of murder, throwing some light on Breton superstitions. One morning last September, in the village of Hengoat, a farmer named Omnes, twenty-five years of age, was found suspended from the top of a tumbril. He had been thrashing on the previous day, had slept in the barn in order to guard the corn from thieves, and had evidently been strangled in his sleep, and hung up when dead. His mouth was gagged with a handkerchief, and his arms extended, as though crucified, by a stick, which was placed in the coat-sleeves. He was the mainstay of his aged mother, was about to marry, and was popular in the village, except with his sister and her husband, Marguerite and Yves Guillou. They had for three years borne a grudge against him because, on his father's death, he had sworn to a debt of 150 francs, which they had been obliged to pay.

"A month previously they had hired an old woman, for 5 francs, to go to a neighbouring village where there is a chapel containing a statue of St. Yves, which is resorted to by the whole district as a means of obtaining sure vengeance. The old woman was commissioned to invoke vengeance on Omnes for perjury; but she was unable to perform the errand, for the priest, scandalised at the evil passions which made the shrine frequented, had removed the statue to his back garden, and on the wall being sealed to invoke it, had locked it up in his loft.

"The theory of the prosecution was that, despairing of saintly intervention, the couple resolved on avenging themselves; and what clinched the popular suspicion against them was that the candle sent by Guillou to an altar at Guingamp, with an invocation for his brother-in-law's benefit, would not burn. At the trial, however, the witnesses to the facts that the two prisoners were out late at night, and that the woman's shoes were muddy, were less positive than when originally examined; and the prisoners were acquitted notwithstanding evidence that they had made no secret of their wish for the deceased's death."

This example is rendered doubly interesting, from the fact that M. Renan was born at the very place to which reference has just been made. Only a week later, April 30th, 1883, *The Times*, in a remarkably interesting article, supplied some additional details regarding this strange *culte*. It needs no very keen eye to see how greatly M. Renan's opinions may have been coloured by the wild superstition and credulity of the people amongst whom his early life was passed.



“By way of describing his spiritual battles, M. Renan relates the whole story of his boyhood, and the early part of it is a very idyll. He was born and educated at Tréguier, a small Breton town, composed of an abbey church, several convents, a seminary, and a few houses which owed their existence to these establishments. The customs of the population were primitive, and their religion was a sort of Christianity grafted on the most evident paganism. They worshipped innumerable saints unknown to the Roman Calendar, and did not scruple to threaten these divinities when they wanted anything from them. A blacksmith, whose child was ill, stalked into the roadside chapel where the statue of his favourite saint stood, and brandishing a red-hot horseshoe, threatened to ‘shoe the saint’ if the child did not recover. Again, there was an arch-saint in the place—St. Yves—who was patron of the town, and who if prayed to with fervour would obligingly kill a man’s enemy for him within a twelvemonth by sudden illness. This good saint, or rather his wooden presentment, stretched out his arms once a year to bless the people of Tréguier, but it was indispensable to the accomplishment of this miracle that the whole congregation should fix their gaze on the ground. If a single unbeliever raised his eyes to see if the arms were really lifted, the saint, ‘justly incensed by such a want of faith, would refuse to perform’, and, of course, the unbeliever had to face the wrath of his infuriated fellow-townsmen who had been defrauded of their blessing. M. Renan remarks that the clergy of Tréguier were careful to maintain these superstitions without compromising themselves by so doing, but they were excellent men, who in the seminary taught their pupils nothing but what was good; and, in fact, young Renan’s mind took its first serious religious impress from their solid teaching. They taught him mathematics and Latin thoroughly; as for works of modern French literature, their horror of them was such that an old gentleman, a stranger to the town, having died possessed of a library, they hastened to buy it, and made a bonfire of all it contained. Renan was happy at Tréguier. The people, though steeped in superstition, were gentle, brave, and generous; and it was a serious grief to him when, in his fifteenth year, he was, owing to academical successes, summoned to Paris to receive a free education in the Seminary of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, managed by M. Dupanloup.”

It is difficult to understand how people, living in such debasing superstition, could be “gentle, brave, and generous”.

We need go no farther than North Wales to find a very similar instance of credulity. At Llanellian, about two miles from Colwyn, on the hills, was the once famous Ffynnon, or cursing-well, of Elian. “Persons who have



any great malice against others, and wish to injure them, frequently resort to the minister of the well, who, for a sum of money, undertakes to offer them in it. Various ceremonies are gone through; on one occasion, amongst others, the name of the devoted is entered in a book, and then a pin in his name, and a pebble, with his initials inscribed thereon, are thrown into the well."<sup>1</sup> "I myself", writes the author of the *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, "have known a man in my own parish who lost £80 rather than ask for it again, for fear of being put into the well; and have met with a person in England pining away under the belief that she had been so cursed."<sup>2</sup> The well was closed, chiefly under the influence of the resident clergyman, certainly within living memory. A friend of my own visited Llanellian two years ago, and conversed with a man who remembered the cursing well in full operation, and who informed him that the keeper of the well was accustomed to inscribe on tablets of lead the name of the person whom it was desired to injure, and then to cast them into the water. The very site of the well is now, happily obliterated; and the waters find escape elsewhere, to perform their natural function of fertilising the land.

It must not be supposed, however, that belief in the Black Art has died out in England. On the 18th of June 1883, the following letter appeared in *The Times* newspaper:—

"SIR,—There is no need to go to West Prussia for witchcraft towards the end of the nineteenth century. In a parish near where the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset meet, a young man, being afflicted with scrofula, which caused at times contraction of the muscles of the right thigh and very considerable pain, formed the idea that a poor, delicate woman, living next door, wife of a labourer and mother of several children, had bewitched him, and one day, in his agony, rushed into her house with a large sewing-needle, and before the poor woman had time to think, scratched her severely in the neck and in four places on her bare arm, drawing blood in each instance, then rubbed his hand on the blood and ran off. The poor woman came to me to complain, showing the scratches, and I advised her to take out a summons before the justices; but time passed. The young man, as usual,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

<sup>2</sup> These quotations are taken from Murray's *Handbook of North Wales*, fourth edition, 1874, p. 49.

felt relieved of his pains for a time, and his mother, a widow, occupying a few acres of land with cows and pigs, tried to assure me that drawing the blood cured her son, for she considered the other woman had 'overlooked' him. This happened some months ago, and I need hardly add that the young man has been several times since periodically similarly afflicted.—Yours faithfully,

"Halstock, Dorset.

"R. F. MEREDITH."

It is much to be feared that such cases could easily be multiplied.

It is well worthy of observation that so late as the commencement of the present century, a large and somewhat expensive volume, treating upon magic, should have been issued from the press. It is a marvel to any thoughtful person that such a book as Barrett's *Magus* should ever have been compiled; for the strange mixture of religion with the most debasing superstition—the assumption of personal knowledge and intimate acquaintance with spiritual beings—the solemnity with which the previous preparation of fasting and prayer are insisted upon as the necessary preliminaries of some wild incantation, and the calm assurance with which details are given concerning interviews which never occurred, constitute the oddest medley that can well be imagined.

If, for example, a magician desires to call up spirits on a Sunday, he may be assured beforehand, Mr. Barrett says, what kinds of spirits are likely to appear. Their motion will be like the lightning of heaven; the particular forms which they will assume are these:—A king, having a sceptre, riding on a lion; a king crowned; a queen with a sceptre; a bird; a lion; a cock; a yellow garment; a sceptre.

The power of these Sunday spirits is exerted to "procure gold, gems, carbuncles, and rubies, and to cause one to obtain favour and benevolence, to dissolve enmities amongst men, to raise to honours, and to take away infirmities. They appear, for the most part, in a large, full, and great body, sanguine and gross, in a gold colour, with the tincture of blood." Those spirits "who appear in a kingly form, have a much higher dignity than them who take an inferior shape" (I decline all responsibility for Mr. Barrett's grammar); "and those who appear in a human shape exceed in authority and power them that

come as animals; and, again, these latter surpass in dignity them who appear as trees or instruments, and the like: so that you are to judge of the power, government, and authority of spirits by their assuming a more noble and dignified apparition."<sup>1</sup>

Each day of the week has its separate angels; its proper conjuration; its proper fumigation, which seems to be specially agreeable to these wonderful beings:—*Sunday*, red sanders; *Monday*, aloes; *Tuesday*, pepper; *Wednesday*, mastic; *Thursday*, saffron; *Friday*, pepperwort; *Saturday*, sulphur. All these details are given with a precision which savours rather of a scientific treatise than of a most miserable charlatanry.

Francis Barrett, F.R.C., the author, or compiler, is described below the portrait which is prefixed to the volume as *Student in Chemistry, Metaphisicks, Natural and Occult Philosophy, etc., etc.* His features somewhat resemble those of Robert Burns, and the general appearance is that of a man of considerable intelligence. The volume, a handsome quarto, was published by "Lackington, Allen, and Co., Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square," in 1801; and, to the confusion of bibliography, has been lately reprinted, though the title bears the original date.

The interesting question arises, Who are the patrons of such a work as this? Are there still practitioners of the black art? The reader of the volume can hardly doubt that Barrett was in earnest; though it is difficult to conceive the state of mind to which an intelligent man has contrived to reduce himself before he can believe the wild tissue of absurdities of which *Magus* is composed.

Another portly quarto, which in 1812 had reached its *eleventh* edition, testifies to the demand for information as to what is called occult science (science, indeed!) and astrology. Those who have not opened its pages, and who would scarcely care to take the trouble so to do, may yet be glad to have some details with regard to magicians in general. Its author supplies us with a sort of Natural History of these curious creatures.

"Their garments they compose of white linen, black cloth, black cat-skins, wolves', bears', or swine's skins; the linen, because of its

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, *Magus, the Art of Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 117, 127.

abstracted quality for magic, delights not to have any utensils that are put to common uses.<sup>1</sup> The skins of the aforesaid animals are by reason of the saturnine and magical qualities in the particles of these beasts. Their sewing thread is of silk, cat's-gut, man's nerves, asses' hair, thongs of skin from men, cats, bats, owls, and moles, all which are enjoined from the like magical cause. Their needles are made of hedgehog-prickles, or bones of any of the above mentioned animals; their writing-pens are of owls or ravens, their ink of man's blood; their ointment is man's fat, blood, usnea, hog's grease, or oil of wales;<sup>2</sup> their characters are ancient Hebrew or Samaritan; their speech is Hebrew or Latin; their paper must be of the membranes of infants, which they call virgin parchment, or of the skins of cats or kids. They compose their fires of sweet wood, oil, or rosin; and their candles of the fat or marrow of men or children; their vessels are earthen; their candlesticks with three feet, of dead men's bones; their swords are steel, without guards, the points being reversed. These are their materials, which they particularly choose from the magical qualities whereof they are composed. Neither are the peculiar shapes without a natural cause. Their caps are oval, or like pyramids, with lappets on each side, and fur within; their gowns reach to the ground, being furr'd with white fox-skins, under which they have a linen garment reaching to the knee; their girdles are three inches broad, and have, according to its use, many caballistical names, with crosses, trines, and circles inscribed thereon; their knives are dagger-fashion; and the circles by which they defend themselves are commonly nine feet in breadth, though the Eastern magicians allow but seven; for both of which a natural cause is pretended, in the force and sympathy of numbers."<sup>3</sup>

All this will probably make the reader only the more anxious to see a magician at work; nor shall he be disappointed:

"The<sup>4</sup> proper attire or *pontificalibus* of a magician is an ephod made of fine white linen, over that a priestly robe of black bombazine, reaching to the ground, with the two seals of the earth drawn correctly upon virgin parchment, and affixed to the breast of his outer vestment. Round his waist is tied a broad, consecrated girdle with the names,

"Ya, Ya, ✠ Aie, Aaie ✠ Elibra ✠ Elohim ✠ Sadai  
✠ Pali Adonai ✠ tuo robore ✠ cinetus sum ✠

<sup>1</sup> I do not pretend to construe this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> So in the original.

<sup>3</sup> E. Sibly, M.D., F.R.H.S., *A New and Complete Illustration of the Celestial Science of Astrology*. The eleventh edition. 4to.; London, 1812. Pp. 1110, 1111.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 1104.



Upon his shoes must be written '*Tetragrammaton*', with crosses round about; upon his head a high-crown cap of sable silk; and in his hands an holy Bible, printed or written in pure Hebrew. When all these things are prepared, the circle drawn, the ground consecrated, and the exorcist securely placed within the circle, he proceeds to call up or conjure the spirit by his proper name, under a form somewhat similar to the following:

"I exorcise and conjure thee, thou spirit of' ..... [here naming the spirit], 'by the holy and wonderful names of the Almighty Jehovah, Athanato✠ Aionos✠ Dominus sempiternus✠ Aletheios✠ Sadai✠ Jehovah, Kedesh, El gabor✠ Deus fortissimus✠ Anapheraton, Amorule, Ameron✠✠✠ Panthion✠ Craton✠ Muridon✠ Jah, Jehovah, Elohim pentasseron✠ trinus et unus✠✠✠ I exorcise and conjure, etc."

"After these forms of conjuration, and just before appearances are expected, the infernal spirits make strange and frightful noises, howlings, tremblings, flashes, and most dreadful shrieks and yells, as forerunners of their presently becoming visible. Their first appearance is generally in the form of fierce and terrible lions or tygers, vomiting forth fire, and roaring hideously about the circle; all which time the exorcist must not suffer any tremor or dismay, for in that case they will gain the ascendancy, and the consequences may touch his life."

To this may be added the important information that

"In calling up the spirit of a departed person, at the close of a short form of adjuration, the exorcist is to say:

"'Berald, Beroald, Balbin gab gabor agaba;  
Arise, arise, I charge and command thee.'"<sup>1</sup>

And this, which is probably of equal value:

"Pentacles with the words Glauron, Amor, Amorula, Beor, Beorka, Beroald, Anepheraton, inscribed upon them, cause spirits to 'become exceedingly tortured and amazed', and 'more mild and tractable'."<sup>2</sup>

After such a preparation as this we shall be the better able to approach the subject of the present paper. The Magical Roll now printed from the original in the British Museum, was written in the seventeenth century, in a minute but really beautiful hand, on a long strip of vellum 10 feet 11 inches in length by 1½ inch in width. It contains on one side sigils to be used as prophylactics against diseases, or as valuable aids in many needs and exigencies of life; and on the other side prayers, benedictions,

<sup>1</sup> Sibly, p. 1106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1109.



passages of Holy Scripture, lists of names which are potent against evil spirits, and charms. The language employed is Latin. The MS. supplies a very interesting example of an attempt to bolster up the dying cause of astrology by endeavouring to associate it with religion; for here are found, in strange confusion, prayers that any Christian might use, passages from the Holy Scriptures, names of the Supreme Being, frequent repetitions of the sign of the cross, together with a jargon of words, many of which are probably without any intelligible meaning, and invocations of spirits whose very names form the wildest jumble that can well be imagined.

It will appear at a first glance as if the highest ingenuity had been employed to construct these epithets. It is not, however, so difficult to construct a large series of these out-of-the-way names as might at first sight appear. The following passage from Barrett's *Magus* will exhibit the *modus operandi* :

"There is a certain text in *Exodus*<sup>1</sup> contained in three verses, whereof every one is written with seventy-two letters, beginning thus : the first *Vajisa*,<sup>2</sup> the second *Vajabo*, the third *Vajot*, which are extended into one line, viz. : the first and the third from the left hand to the right ; but the middle, in a contrary order (beginning from the right to the left), is terminated on the left hand ; then each of the three letters being subordinate the one to the other, make one name, which are seventy-two names, which the Hebrews called *Schemhamphoræ* ; to which, if the Divine Name EL or Jah be added, they produce seventy-two trissyllable names of angels, whereof every one carries the Great Name of God, as it is written, 'My angel shall go before thee ; observe him, for My Name is in him.' And these are those that are set over the seventy-two celestial quaternaries, and so many nations and tongues, and joints of man's body, and co-operate with the seventy-two seniors of the synagogue, and so many disciples of Christ ; and their names, according to the extraction which the Cabalists make, are manifest in the following table, according to the manner which we have mentioned."<sup>3</sup>

I will spare my readers the table. If they can construe the somewhat obscure sentences above transcribed, they will be able to construct for themselves seventy-two

<sup>1</sup> I find it in *Exodus* xiv, 19-21.

<sup>2</sup> For the convenience of the printer, I omit here and elsewhere the Hebrew words and letters which Mr. Barrett inserts.

<sup>3</sup> Barrett, *Magus*, book ii, part i, p. 59.

angelic names. This list will, however, by no means exhaust the method indicated, which may be applied to many other passages of Holy Scripture. It may be worth while to give a few specimens of the names formed from the passage selected from *Exodus* :

“Geliel, Sitael, Lelahel, Hariel, Daniel,  
Vehniah, Elemiah, Leviah, Haaiah.”

By this method it is sufficiently obvious that, with a very moderate amount of ingenuity, names of angels, or of demons, may be fabricated without end. The matter resolves itself into a question of *permutations and combinations*. If the writer's fancy had led him no further, his writings might be left to their natural oblivion ; but he proceeds to recommend, with notable audacity, certain charms and talismans as of great efficacy in the cure of diseases. Thus Mr. Barrett sets forth the following charm,<sup>1</sup> of whose absurdity one would have thought that a single trial might have supplied sufficient evidence :

“I will here set down”, he says, “while speaking of these things, a very powerful amulet for the stopping immediately a bloody flux ; for the which (with a faith) I dare lay down my life for the success and entire cure.

“*An Amulet for Flux of Blood.*”

“In the blood of Adam arose death ; in the blood of Christ death is extinguished ; in the same blood of Christ I command thee, O blood, that thou stop fluxing.’ Let the party who pronounces these words hold the other's hand.

“In this one godly superstition there will be found a ready, cheap, easy remedy for that dreadful disorder, the bloody flux, whereby a poor, miserable wretch will reap more real benefit than in a whole shop of an apothecary's drugs. These four letters<sup>2</sup> are a powerful charm or amulet against the common ague ; likewise let them be written upon a piece of clean and new vellum at any time of the day or night, and they will be found a speedy and certain cure, and much more efficacious than the word *Abracadabra*. However, as that ancient charm is still (amongst some who pretend to cure agues, etc.) in some repute, I will here set down the form and manner of its being written. Likewise it must be pronounced or spoken in the same order as it is written, with the intent or will of the operator declared at the same time of making it.

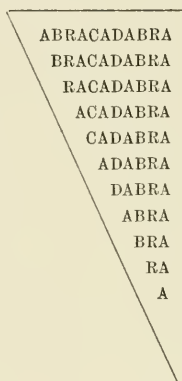
“It is here to be particularly noticed by us, that in forming of

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, *Magus*, book i, chap. ii, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> The Tetragrammaton.

a charm or amulet, it will be of no effect except the very soul of the operator is strongly and intensely exerted and impressed as it were, and the image of the idea sealed on the charm or amulet; for without this in vain will be all the observation of times, hours, and constellations. Therefore this I have thought fit to mention once for all, that it may be almost always uppermost in the mind of the operator; for without this one thing being observed and noticed, many who form seals, etc., do fall short of the wished-for effect."

Certainly the concluding words form a saving clause, and afford a convenient loophole of escape. But let us set down this wonderful charm:



This word *Abracadabra* is said to be, in its earlier form, ABAANAΘABAA, and to signify "Thou art our Father". The softer Latin pronunciation gives us the form just presented as an amulet.<sup>1</sup> Serenus Sammonicus, physician to Gordian III about the middle of the third century, recommends *Abracadabra* as an amulet for all diseases:<sup>2</sup>

"Thou must on paper write the spell divine,  
*Abracadabra* called, in many a line.  
Each under each in even order place;  
But the last letter in each line efface:  
As by degrees its elements grow few,  
Still take away, but fix the residue,  
Till at the last one letter stands alone,  
And the whole dwindles to a tapering cone.  
Tie this about the neck with flaxen string,  
Mighty the good 't will to the patient bring:  
Its wondrous potency shall guard his head,  
And drive disease and death far from his bed."

The charm is, according to these rules, to be arranged somewhat differently from the mode recommended in Barrett's *Magus*, and would stand thus:

<sup>1</sup> King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 81, 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

ABRACADABRA  
 ABRACADABR  
 ABRACADAB  
 etc.

There is yet another arrangement of the mystic word :

ABRACADABRA  
 BRACADABR  
 RACADAB  
 ACADA  
 CAD  
 A

We are not told whether this more compendious form is of equal virtue with the longer. Probably it is.

Dr. Pettigrew,<sup>1</sup> in a paper printed in the thirtieth volume of the *Archæologia*, gives an extract from *A Proved Practise for all Young Chirurgians*, a work published in 1588, by W. Clowes, Serjeant-Surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, from which it appears that the Abracadabra charm was sometimes eaten.

“It is not long since that a subtile deluder, verie craftely, having upon set purpose his brokers or espials abroad, using sundry secret drifts to allure many, as did the Syrens by their sweet sonets and melody seduce mariners to make them their pray, so did his brokers or espials deceive many, in proclayning and sounding out his fame abroad from house to house, as those use to do which crye, mistresse, have you any worke for the tincker? At the length, they heard of one that was tormented with a quartaine; then, in all post haste, this bad man was brought unto the sicke patient by their craftie meanes, and so forth, without any tariance, he did compound for fiftene pound to rid him within three fits of his agew, and to make him as whole as a fish of all diseases; so, a little afore his fit was at hand, he called unto the wife of the patient to bring him an apple of the biggest size, and then with a pinne writte in the rinde of the apple ABRACADABRA, and such like, and perswaded him to take it presently in the beginning of his fit, for there was (sayth he) a secret in those words. To be short, the patient, being hungry of his health, followed his counsell, and devoured all and every peece of the apple. So soone as it was receyved, nature left the disease to digest the apple, which was too hard to do; for at length he fell to vomiting, then the core kept such a sturre in his thoroate, that wheretofore his fever was ill, now much worse, *a malo<sup>2</sup> ad pejus*, out of the frying-pan into the fire; presently there were physi-

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xxx, pp. 427, 428. See also Pettigrew's *Superstitious connected with the Practice of Medicine and Surgery*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Did the author intend a pun?

tions sent for unto the sick patient, or else his fiftene pound had beene gone, with a more pretious jewell; but this lewde fellow is better knowne at Newgate than I will heere declare."

It was also believed that Abracadabra "written on a piece of paper, and worn on the stomach, will in a few days effectually cure a jaundice."<sup>1</sup>

Another word of great efficacy is the word ABRAXAS, for the history of which I am indebted to the Rev. C. W. King's *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval* (8vo., London, 1864).

Mr. King quotes Tertullian's words:—

"After this, Basilides, the heretic, broke loose. He asserted that there is a supreme God, by name *Abraxas*, by whom Mind was created, whom the Greeks call Nous."<sup>2</sup>

And these words of St. Augustine:—

"Basilides pretended the number of heavens is 365, the number of the days in the year. Hence he used to glorify a *Holy Name*, as it were, that is the word *Abraxas*; the letters in which name, according to the Greek mode of computation, make up that number."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. King adopts the explanation of Abraxas offered by Bellermann, who says that it signifies, in Coptic, "The Blessed Name"; and that it is compounded of Ab or Af, "let it be"; Rak, "adore"; and Sax, for Sadski, "Name". He further observes that "this compound also agrees in a remarkable manner with the Jewish synonym for the ineffable name of Jehovah, viz.: *Shem Hamphirosh*, the Holy Word, which was compressed by the Rabbins into *The Name* or *The Word*." Abracura, he adds, "is evidently the Latinised spelling of Αβρα Κορη; the latter, *The Virgin*, the usual mystic term for Proserpine; whilst *Abra*, perhaps, bears the same meaning as in the Gnostic terminology, where it also enters into the composition of the famous spell, *Abracadabra*."<sup>4</sup>

Abraxas gems are very numerous. "In a great majority of instances, the name *Abrasax* is associated with

<sup>1</sup> John Jones, M.B., *Medical, Philosophical, and Vulgar errors of various kinds considered and refuted*; 8vo., London, 1797, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *De Prescriptione Hæreticorum*, c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A=1, β=2, ρ'=100, α=1, ξ=60, α=1, s=200; total, 365.

<sup>4</sup> King, *The Gnostics*, pp. 36, 78, 79.



a singular composite figure, having the head of a cock or hawk, the arms of a man (bearing the one a whip, or more rarely a dagger; and the other a small round shield), and the breast of a man in a cuirass, from below which diverge two serpentine legs. The name ΙΑΩ, to which ΣΑΒΑΩΘ is sometimes added, is found with this figure, even more frequently than ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ, and they are often combined”.

All who desire to know more about the subject should consult the interesting article on “Abraxas”, contributed by Dr. Hort to Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, from which the passage just inserted has been taken.

A third very famous word of magic power is ANANIZAPTA : it occurs, in its shortened form Anisapta, in our Magic Roll. An earlier instance of its use may be found in the *Sloane MS.* No. 389.

“ Iff thow be in joperdye of dethe say thes versis  
ffollowyng, orels y<sup>is</sup> worde ananizpta.

Est mala mors capta, dum dixeris ananyzapta.

..... <sup>1</sup>perit, dum mortem legere querit.

Ananizapta Dei, sis medicina mea.

In Nomine Domini Jhū facito hoc signum tav.”

Another MS., in the *Harleian* Collection, No. 585, recommends the use of the word ANANIZAPTUS, or, in the case of a female patient, ANANIZAPTA, as a cure for the falling sickness. “ This word is directed in the MS. to be spoken in the patient’s ear, by which the effect is to be produced, not by having the letters arranged in any particular manner and worn about the person, as is the case with the Abracadabra, or Abrasadabra, or the Aracalan of the Jews.”<sup>2</sup>

This word is frequently found engraved on rings. It will probably be unnecessary to refer to our own *Journal* ; I will select two examples from the *Archæologia*.

1. A gold ring found in Coventry Park in 1802, with devices of the Saviour rising from the tomb, some emblems of the Passion, and the Five Wounds ; with these inscriptions—

<sup>1</sup> I have ventured to indicate that some words are omitted here, though the scribe has given no such indications.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Pettigrew, *Archæologia*, xxx, 427.

“The welle of everlasting lyffe,  
 The well of confort,                      The well of gracy,  
 The well of pittie,                      The well of merci;”

and on the inside of the ring—

“Wulnera quinque dei sunt medicina mei.  
 Pia crux et passio xp'i sunt medicina michi  
 Gaspar, Melchior, Baltasar  
 Ananyzapta tetragrammaton.”

Sir Edmund Shaw, goldsmith and Alderman of London, directs by his will, c. 1487, that there should be made “16 rings of fyne gold, to be graven with the well of pitie, the well of mercie, and the well of everlasting life.”<sup>1</sup>

2. A thumb ring of iron, bearing this inscription<sup>2</sup>—

“IHC T ANANIZAPTA ✠ XPI ✠ T.”

The *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*<sup>3</sup> supplies other examples, of which one will suffice: it is a silver ring found at Kingweston, Somerset, inscribed—

(without) “BENEDICTUR ✠ INT(?) CAPTA.”

(within) “DUM ✠ DICTUR ✠ ANANIZAPTA.”

The frequency of its occurrence (instances might easily be multiplied) suggests the extent of the popular belief in this charm.

Gaffarel, in his *Vnheard of Curiosities concerning Talismanic Sculpture of the Persians, the Horoskope of the Patriarkes, and the Reading of the Stars*,<sup>4</sup> assures us that the following amulet is good for the colic:—

L + MØRIA
L + MØRIA
L + MØRIA
L + MØRIA

And here may most fitly be discussed another charm, which is found on our Magic Roll, and in many other places. It is composed of the words SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS, each word placed exactly under the word

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 306.

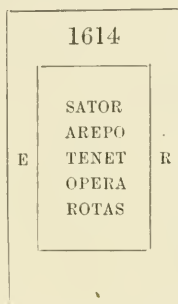
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> “Written in French by James Gaffarel, and Englished by Edmund Chilmead, M<sup>r</sup> of Arts, and Chaplaine of Christ Church, Oxon.” 8vo. London, 1650, p. 186.

which precedes it,<sup>1</sup> when it will be seen that if the letters are read either horizontally or vertically, up or down, backwards or forwards, the same set of words will be produced.

The same figure is found, says a correspondent to *Notes and Queries*, on a piece of wood, about nine inches square, fastened against a pew in the church of Great Gidding in Huntingdonshire.<sup>2</sup>



A correspondent at a later page of *Notes and Queries*<sup>3</sup> attempts two conjectural readings, the first—

“Sat orare poten ? et opera rotas ?”

in which case he will have it that the sentence may mean—

“Canst thou pray aright ? and gabblest thou the services ?”

or, secondly, that Arepo is a cognomen ; in which case we are to read—

“The sower, Arepo, holds the wheels in his work.”

Another correspondent<sup>4</sup> of the same literary paper, who visited Great Gidding Church on October 13th, 1882, saw the piece of wood and “had it in his hand”. He states that the second word is ARIPO, and the third TENIT. “It has been suggested”, he says, “that possibly the word ARIPO was intended to be broken up into letters : taking the A and O to stand for Alpha and Omega (in the sense of the Almighty), and the R I P for

<sup>1</sup> Is it worth noting that “Hominnm sator atque deorum” is an epithet of Jupiter in Virgil (*Æn.*, i, 254), just as “cœlestium sator” is in Cicero (*Tusc.*, ii, 8), and in *Phædrus*, iii, 17, 10, “deorum genitor atque hominnm sator”?

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, viii, 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sixth Series, vii, p. 457.

*Requiescat in pace*, and the meaning of the whole to be something to this effect—

“O sower, rest in peace : Thou workest (*rotas*) with energy (*operâ*). The Almighty sustains thy work.”

The E R, no doubt, stands for the initials of Edward Rigby, who at that date was the vicar of the parish.

I cannot say that any of these interpretations commend themselves to me; and certainly we need not assume that Arepo is a proper name, for turning to Ducange I find

“ARIPUS, *Gladius Falcatus*, in Glossario Aniciensi MS.”

The earliest example of the use of this charm with which I am acquainted, carries it back to a somewhat unexpected antiquity. In the museum at Cirencester, the ancient Corinium, is a fragment of painted wall plaster, found in 1868, upon which “the following squared words” are scratched through the surface colour in pure Rustic Roman capital letters of the fourth or fifth century :—

R O T A S  
O P E R A  
T E N E T  
A R E P O  
S A T O R

“The circumstances under which the fragment was found, and the peculiar forms of the letters, afford indisputable proof of its genuineness as a relic of Roman times.” (I am quoting from the catalogue<sup>1</sup> of the museum at Cirencester, compiled by Arthur H. Church, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Academy of Arts, London.) “The forms of many of the letters, notably the A, E, T, P, and R, correspond exactly with those of similar wall-writing or graffiti, found at Pompeii and Rome. It is not necessary to assume any definite grammatical construction in this fanciful arrangement of squared words, which reads, ‘Rotas opera tenet Arepo Sator’, in four other directions. It has been interpreted as meaning ‘Arepo, the Sower, guides the wheels at work’, and may refer to the use of the wheel-plough (which was introduced into Roman agriculture about the time of Pliny) in dividing the *lira*, or ridge, and so covering up the seed previously sown in the furrow. Com-

<sup>1</sup> Sixth edition; Cirencester, December 1883.

pare the description of one mode of sowing as given by Varro, i, 29: 'Tertio cum arant, jacto semine, boves lirare dicuntur.' It is very desirable that persons familiar with similar relics in Italy should examine this specimen, since its genuineness has been called in question by one or two persons whose thorough acquaintance with such subjects there is reason to doubt. To this arrangement of squared words a mediæval origin had been assigned; but there can now be no doubt that it must be referred to the first four centuries of the Christian Era. I here place on record the exact circumstances under which this unique example was found. During the levelling of a garden, near the New Road, Cirencester, many coins and Roman tiles were daily disinterred. Captain Abbot, the late Curator of the Museum, watched the operations narrowly; and one day had his attention called to a fragment of wall-plaster, found in his presence, by the ignorant labourer employed there, who saw letters upon it. Captain Abbot washed it, and showed it to me, and subsequently deposited it in the museum. It must be recollected that it was not sold by the labourer, and that no one concerned had any interest in producing a forgery; nor, I may add, the very special knowledge required to do so."

The present Curator of the Cirencester Museum, Christopher Bowly, Esq., has most kindly favoured me with a photograph of this remarkable relic, which seems fully to sustain Professor Church's opinion.

Why the compiler of our Magical Roll should have considered this arrangement of words to be a charm "*contra hostes et inimicos*", I am utterly unable to conjecture.

In the eyes of a believer in such superstitious folly, the Roll must be of prodigious value. It commences with an amulet, "*Ut quis persistat in Amore Dei*". Then follow charms against many of the ills which flesh is heir to: "*contra fulgura et fulmina*"; "*contra ignis et aquæ pericula*"; "*contra perfidiam et fallaciam*", with a striking text out of St. Luke; "*contra mortem injustam*"; "*contra invidiam et odium*"; "*contra intosicationem*", in which the mystic word *AGLA* is combined with the letters *c, d*: "*contra spiritum malignum*"; "*Signum valens ad*



thesauros"; and many others, a full account of which occurs in the transcript of the Roll subjoined to this paper. Twenty of these sigils have been very carefully copied, and will be found on the Plates which form the illustrations of this memoir.

I am not quite certain as to the mode in which these sigils were employed. Perhaps they were to be transcribed singly, on pieces of vellum, and carried about the person; or, possibly, they were to be engraved on plates of metal, and worn as medals. I exhibit such a sigil, which has been so long in my possession that I have forgotten whence I originally obtained it. It is a circular disc of silver or white metal, about the size of a half-crown piece; and is figured in Barrett's *Magus*,<sup>1</sup> where it is called the *Seal of Jupiter*.

*Obverse*: In the centre a square containing figures; above, a Hebrew word; below, the astronomical sign of Jupiter. In the margin the figures 136,<sup>2</sup> and two Hebrew words.

*Reverse*: The sign of Jupiter repeated, with two strange figures. In the margin, "Confirmo [*sic*], O Deus potentissimus."

4	14	15	1
9	7	6	12
5	11	10	8
16	2	3	13

These talismans are, it appears, to be made of different materials: for Jupiter, silver; for Saturn, lead; for Mars, iron; for the Sun, pure gold; for Venus, copper; for Mercury, silver and tin.

The particular talisman of Jupiter must be of considerable value, according to Barrett's *Magus*:<sup>3</sup> from which it appears that the square contains "in every line and diameter four figures, making thirty-four; the sum of all is one hundred and thirty-six. There are over it divine names, with an intelligence to that which is good, and a spirit to bad; and out of it is drawn the character

<sup>1</sup> Plate, fig. 1, *Magic Sèals or Talismans*.

<sup>2</sup> The sum of the numerals in the magic square amounts to 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Magus*, chap. xxviii, "The Magic Tables of the Planets", p. 143.

of Jupiter and the spirits thereof. If this is engraven on a plate of silver, with Jupiter being powerful and ruling in the heavens, it conduces to gain riches and favour, love, peace, and concord, and to appease enemies, and to confirm honours, dignities, and counsels; and dissolves enchantments if engraven on a coral."

But to return to the Magic Roll. It will be observed that it contains, in a great variety of forms, the name of the Supreme Being. It may be well to append the cabalistic account of the origin of some of these names, as it is given in a "General Exorcism of the Spirits of the Air".<sup>1</sup>

Yaw and Vau: the names which Adam heard and spoke.

Agla: that which Lot heard.

Joth: that which Jacob heard from the angel wrestling with him.

Anaphexaton: heard by Aaron.

Zebaoth: the name by which Moses turned the waters into blood.

Eserchie Oriston: by which Moses brought up frogs over the land of Egypt.

Elion: by which hail was brought down.

Adonai: by which locusts were called up.

Schema Amathia: used by Joshua.

Alpha and Omega: by which Daniel destroyed Bel and slew the Dragon.

Emmanuel: sung by the three children in the furnace.

Primeumaton: sung by Moses when Corah, Dathan, and Abiram perished.

"If a pentacle were made to gain a victory, let there be written about it the ten general names [of God] which are El, Elohim, Elohe, Zebaoth, Elion, Eserchie, Adonay, Jah, Tetragrammaton, Saday."<sup>2</sup>

And if an adjuration of the "angels from the four parts of the world that rule the air the same day be required, or a large magic circle is to be formed, then this will serve":

"O Vos omnes, adjutores<sup>3</sup> atque contestor per sedem Adonai, per Hagios, Theos, Ischyros, Athanatos, Paracletos, Alpha et Omega, et per hæc tria nomina secreta, Agla, On, Tetragrammaton, quod hodie debeatis adimplere quod cupio."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barrett, *Magus*, book ii, part iii, pp. 111-113.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, book ii, part ii, pp. 81, 82.

<sup>3</sup> The "angels from the four parts of the world, that rule the air", do not seem to be critical about the Latin tongue.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, book ii, part iii, p. 111.

The Magic Roll under consideration evidently speaks the same dialect of the magician's language: a fact which, it is hoped, will excuse the frequent references to *Magus* in this paper.

Mr. Barrett devotes a whole chapter<sup>1</sup> to the subject "Of the Power and Virtue of the Divine Names." I will give the substance of his remarks as briefly as I may, promising only that the peculiar scholarship is all his own.

"Eheia, which Plato translates ὢν. From hence they call God τὸ ὄν; others, ὁ ὢν; that is, the Being.

"Hu. Name revealed to Esay, signifying the abyss of the God-head. Greek, ταῦτόν; Latin, himself the same.

"Esch. Received from Moses, 'which soundeth fire.'

"Na. Invoked in perturbations and troubles.

"Ja, Elion, Macom, Caphu, Innon, Emeth, 'which is interpreted truth', Zur, Aben."

Then follow some names extracted out of Holy Scripture by the curious process of taking the initial letters of successive words, as the name

Agla, formed from Hebrew words signifying "the Mighty God for ever."

Words of the like formation are:

Iaia; Java, from the text, "Let there be light"; Ararita; Hacaba; Jesu, from the text, "Until the Messiah shall come"; Amen.

Sometimes names are built up from letters taken from the *ends* of words, as the famous

Tetragrammaton, from the text, "What is His Name?"

The human form itself depicts the Tetragrammaton:<sup>2</sup>

"The head is the shape of the letter Yod, the arms and the shoulders are like the letter He, the breast is in the form of the letter Vau, whilst the two legs, with the back, resemble the form of the second He."

Mr. Barrett<sup>3</sup> points out that

"The Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, Magicians, Mahometans, Grecians, Tuscans, and Latins, write the Name of God with four letters, thus: Thet, Alla, Sire, Orsi, Abdi, Θεός, Esar, Deus."

<sup>1</sup> *Cabala*, book ii, chapter v, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Article, "Cabalah", in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> *Magus*, part ii, ch. xix, p. 110.

Sometimes names are composed by arbitrary transpositions ; by which process are discovered the names

Messia, from Ismah ; Michael, from Malachi ; Maz, Paz ; Meratron, for Sadai, or Jiai and EL, as the letters of both words have equal numerical value.

Compare with this the very remarkable kind of cipher which forms part of the Kabbala of the later Jews. "The plan adopted is that of using the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in an inverted order, so that *Tau* stands for *Aleph*, *Shin* for *Beth*, and so on ; and the word *Atbash* is formed out of the first four letters which are thus interchanged." Some commentators think this key interprets the otherwise unintelligible word *Sheshach* in Jeremiah, xxv, 26; for on applying this key the word becomes the equivalent of Babel. The LXX, however, omits the passage altogether, and some think it a late interpolation.<sup>1</sup>

A considerable space might be devoted to the names here attributed to the Second Person in the Holy Trinity. Probably it will suffice if I transcribe from Mr. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*<sup>2</sup> a very remarkable sequence, taken from the ancient English *Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia*, in which some of the Names of the Lord are set forth :

"Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi :  
 Messias, sother, emanuel, sabaoth, adonay :  
 Est unigenitus, via, vita, manus, homoousion :  
 Principium, primogenitus, sapientia, virtus :  
 Alpha, caput, finisque simul vocitatur, et est oo :  
 Fons et origo boni, paraclitus et mediator :  
 Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis :  
 Os, verbum, splendor, sol, gloria, lux, et imago :  
 Panis, flos, vitis, mons, janua, petra, lapisque :  
 Angelus et sponsus. pastorque, propheta, sacerdos :  
 Athanatos, kyrios, theos, panton craton, et ysus :  
 Salvificet nos : sit cui sæcla per omnia doxa."

Clichtoveus, in his *Elucidatorium*, states that this hymn forms part of the vesper office at Pentecost in the church of Paris. The Hereford Missal reads in the last line but one, "Athanatos, iskyros, theos", etc.; and Daniel<sup>3</sup> edits the same line thus, "Athanatos, kyrios, theos, pantocrator, Jesus"; and in the last line reads *tui* for *cui*.

<sup>1</sup> Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, sub voce "Jeremiah."

<sup>2</sup> Second edition, vol. i, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, i, 273.

Daniel (*loco citato*) points out that this polyglot hymn is especially suitable to the Feast of Pentecost, when we commemorate the "gift of tongues".<sup>1</sup> He also explains the mystical meaning of some of the epithets :

"Manus. 'Manus mea quoque fundavit terram.'<sup>2</sup>

"Serpens.<sup>3</sup>

"Aries. 'Quoniam inter duo brachia crucis extentus est et oblatas pro nobis, haud aliter quam aries ille hærens cornibus inter vepres, quem Abram obtulit.'

"Vermis. 'Ego sum vermis et non homo.'<sup>4</sup>

"Os. Isaiah, xl, 5, et sæpius, '*os Domini* locutum est.'

"Flos. 'Flos de radice ejus ascendit.'<sup>5</sup>

And he adds that JESUS aptly concludes the hymn, since this Name is above every name."<sup>6</sup>

This paper has already extended itself to so great a length that I have thought it best to cast into the form of an appendix a short commentary on the strange words, names, and epithets which occur in the Roll. For a large number of these I can offer no explanation whatever, and probably this will excite no great surprise in the minds of those who are familiar with the jargon employed by astrological and magical writers. Let any person, for example, read the following brief lists. The words must be wholly unintelligible to all but the initiated, and yet they represent such familiar objects as the sun and moon, the earth, and the four seasons. The sun and moon, in the four quarters of the year, have these magical epithets :<sup>7</sup>

	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter
<i>The four Seasons</i> .	Talvi	Casmaran	Adarcel	Farlas
<i>The Sun</i> . . .	Abaym	Athemay	Abagini	Commutoff
<i>The Moon</i> . . .	Agusita	Armatus	Matasignais	Affaterim
<i>The Earth</i> . . .	Amadai	Festativi	Rabinnara	Geremiah

Even the hours both of day and night have their special names, which are certainly not easily remembered :

"The day hours from 1 to 12. Yain, Janor, Nasnia, Salla, Sade-dali, Thamur, Ourer, Thamie, Neron, Jayon, Abai, Natalon.

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum Breviary appoints this sequence for use "in die Pentecostes ad Completorium et tribus diebus sequentibus." (Daniel.)

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, xlviii, 13.

<sup>3</sup> St. John, iii, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxi, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Isaiah, xi, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Phil. ii, 9.

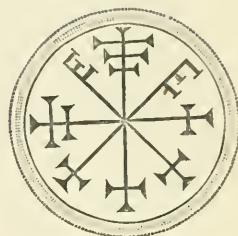
<sup>7</sup> Barrett, *The Key to Ceremonial Magic*, 107, 108.



4



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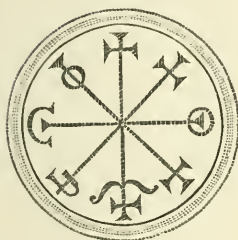
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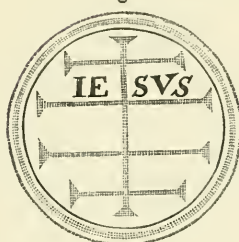
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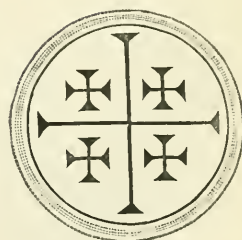
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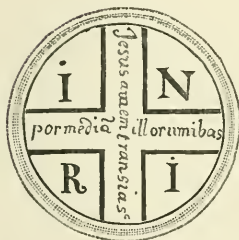
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7





"The night hours from 1 to 12. Beron, Barol, Thami, Athar, Methon, Rana, Netos, Tafiace, Sassur, Agle, Calerva, Salam."

Out of this hopeless jargon it is impossible to obtain any methodical classification. I have contented myself with arranging words of this class in alphabetical order.

It remains only to say that although Mr. Barrett quotes Hebrew very freely, he was by no means on speaking terms with that language; a very distant and remote acquaintance was all that he could claim. Nor could the transcriber of the Magic Roll, though his calligraphy is admirable, be suspected for a single moment of being a Latin scholar; of Greek, he was entirely innocent.

It almost seems as if some apology were needed for devoting so many pages to the consideration of such egregious folly and superstition. Yet if we are to understand how dark were the ages from which we have emerged, or are emerging, it cannot be entirely useless to look back upon the studies which even philosophers and learned men did not think beneath their notice.

#### TRANSCRIPT OF A ROLL CONTAINING PRAYERS AND MAGICAL SIGNS.

(*British Museum, Addit. MS. 25,311.*)

At the beginning of the Roll a piece of parchment is affixed, somewhat wider than the Roll itself, on which is drawn a figure composed of two concentric circles, within the smaller of which a cross is contained. In the centre is written the word *AGLA*; on the limbs of the cross, *Ellij-Ellij*, and *Seraseno Athanatos*; in the four quarters of the cross, *Matheus . Marcus . Lucas . Joannes*; on the inner circle, ✠ *Alpha et Omega* ✠ *Scleos Messias* ✠ on *EAYH Jesus . a . g . l . a . Salvator*; on the outer circle, ✠ *Æia Emanuel . Jesus Salutis . Agla Adonaij . Joannes . Tetragrammaton*. On four semicircles attached to the larger circle, *Michael . Maternnus, Gabriel . Anno Stabila . Uriel . Athanatos, Raphael . Sanctus Martius*. Outside the figure, and in large letters, *Sigillum Salomonis*.

In addition to this figure is a symbol which, no doubt, gives the actual date of the Roll. The symbols used are not those given in

Barrett's *Magus*, pp. 141, 142, and I am not able to decipher them.

Then follow a series of magic sigils, some of which are figured in the accompanying Plates. The numbers placed after some of the descriptions refer to the numbers on the Plates.

Sigil, containing these letters:—INRI ✠ AG ✠ LA ✠ C ✠ B ✠ M.  
*Ut quis persistat in Amore Dei.*

Sigil, containing the word AGLA, etc. Fig. 1.<sup>1</sup> *Contra Fulgura et Fulmina.*

Sigil (Fig. 2). *Contra Ignis et Aquæ pericula.*

Sigil (Fig. 3) containing the words "Jesus autem transias<sup>2</sup> per medium illorum ibas", together with the letters INRI. *Contra perfidiam et fallaciam.*

Sigil. *Contra mortem injustam.*

Sigil with the word AGLA. *Contra invidiam et odium.*

Sigil (Fig. 4) with the word AGLA between the letters C, D. *Contra intoxicationem.*

Sigil: figures of the sun and moon, and the letters H, TU. *Contra mortem repentinam.*

Sigil with the letters C, D. *Contra inimicitias.*

Sigil (Fig. 5) composed of an eight-point star, with a small cross at the end of each arm. *Nequis in prælio aut pugna vincatur.*

Sigil with the letters SS. *Nequis in judicio vincatur.*

Sigil. *Contra spiritum malignum.*

Sigil with the letters SSI. *Signum Salomonis contra spiritum malignum.*

Sigil. *Contra spiritum malignum.*

Sigil (Fig. 6) with the Holy Name IESUS. *Ut quis ab hominibus ametur.*

Sigil (Fig. 7) with the words—

S A T O R  
A R E P O  
T E N E T  
O P E R A  
R O T A S

*Contra hostes et inimicos.*

Sigil (Fig. 8). *Contra sortilegia et fascinationes.*

Two sigils. *Ad scientias adipiscendas.*

Sigil (Fig. 9). *Contra morbos, lepram, et malum conducam valens.*

Sigil. *Contra errores et errandi pericula.*

Sigil (Fig. 10). *Signum valens ad Thesauros.*

Sigil. *Ad obtinendos honores, et dignitates.*

Sigil. *Valet ad Opera visibilia, et invisibilia.*

Sigil with two hearts, crosses, etc. *Contra repentinus casus.*

<sup>1</sup> The numbers, fig. 1, fig. 2, etc., refer to the Plates by which this paper is illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is, no doubt, to St. Luke iv, 30: "Ipse autem transiens per medium illorum ibat."



Sigil with AGLA.

Sigil (Fig. 11). *Pro amicitia magnorum Dominorum obtinenda.*

Sigil. *In Occultæ [sic].*

Sigil. *Etiā.*

Sigil with HR and a dagger. *Ut etiā.*

Sigil (Fig. 12). *Nequis possit vulnerari.*

Sigil (Fig. 13). *Ad obtinendum Spiritum quasi propheticum ad præscienda Futura.*

Sigil. *Valet ad obtinendum prosperum successum omnium rerum.*

Sigil (Fig. 14) with dagger, crosses, etc. *Contra desperationem in rebus adversis.*

Sigil. *Idem.*

Sigil. *Idem.*

Sigil (Fig. 15) with AM, etc. *Ad obtinendas artes et virtutes.*

Sigil (Fig. 16). *Contra paupertatem.*

Two sigils with no words between them.

Sigil. *Ad subiciendum pusillanimitatem.*

Two sigils with no description.

Sigil. *Contra diversas adversitates.*

Sigil (Fig. 17) with letters PS--AO. *Contra venenatos morsus animalium venenatorum, et Serpentum.*

Five sigils, two of which will be found in figures 18 and 19. The second bears the mystic word AGLA. *Ad conjurandos Dæmones.*

Sigil (Fig. 19). *Ad conjurandos Dæmones, et Spiritus malignos.*

Sigil with the word AGLA. *Contra intossicationem.*

Five sigils with various letters, figures, and crosses. (For one of these, see Fig. 20.) *Si quis in Captivitate ducatur, portet hoc signum in corpore, et liberabitur.*

Sigil. A plain circle. *Dominus à dexteris ejus confregit in die iræ Sux Reges.*

All the foregoing sigils consist of large outer circles with smaller circles, lines, curves, crosses, and curious figures, in variously coloured inks, all of them being more or less gilt.

Then follow two other sigils, the first consisting of two triangles, with the letters INRI, IHS, etc.; the second and last contains a cross with SNNS, 73775, ZN, etc. *Est magnæ potentiæ in bello, dat infallibiliter victoriam. Diripuisti vincula mea, Tibi Sacrificabo hostiam Laudis, et Nomen Domini invocabo.*<sup>1</sup>

Two sigils, one being a cross, with numerous letters and signs. *Valet, ut Siquis foret incarcerationis, et ligatus Catenis<sup>2</sup> Ferreis, ostendendum hoc Sculptum in Auro in die, et hora Solis. Subito Solvetur, et erit in libertate. Gaudius eorum intret in corda ipsorum, et arcus ipsorum confringantur.*<sup>3</sup>

Sigil. *Tantæ est virtutis, ut invasor Se ipsum offendat propriis armis, aut arma Frangantur.*

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from Psalm cxv (17, Vulgate).

<sup>2</sup> Probably we should read "catenis".

<sup>3</sup> The quotation is from Psalm xxxvi (15, Vulgate).



Then follows a more elaborate design on a larger piece of parchment, sewn to the Roll, somewhat similar to that at the beginning. On the back of this are the following words, the first letter of each being rubricated:—Tetragrammaton . Alpha . et Omega . Emanuel . Jesus . Christus . Sother . Adether . Adonaij . Heloiij . Udoiij . Sabaoth . Messias . . . . . bracula . Abrato . . . . . Abrato . Abrat . Abra . A . . . . . anisapta . Agla . Galena . Verbum . Gloria . Imago . Sponsus . Sacro-Sancta Trinitas . Hagios . Otheos . Hagios . Iskiros . Hagios . Athanatos . Ymas . Elijsion . Pantheon . Aimulamathon . Stimulamathon . Onaijeon in Excelsis . Oristaberon . Flamabhon . Isiston . Alpha . [word composed of Hebrew letters mixed with unintelligible signs.] Almiseron . Oreijteon . Annanijon . Esaij . Orion . Annaijser . . . . . Zamathon.

The following Prayers are written on the dorse of the Roll:—

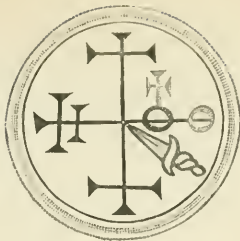
ALPHA ET OMEGA.

℥ Domine Deus, Pater Cœlestis, qui Cœlum et Terram creasti, qui circulum et terminos Terræ dimensus es, qui sedes super choros Angelorum Cherubim et Seraphim, qui potes naturam humanam penetrare et discurrere, Tu enim ille es, qui Angelos creavit, ut Tibi servient, Te laudarent, uti Te laudant, qui mirabiliter clamant:—Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt Cœli et Terra laudis, gloriæ, et Majestatis Tuæ, Domine! qui Adamum creasti, et eum in Paradisum posuisti, ut lignum vitæ custodiret; Tu es ille, qui super mirabilia dominaris et regnas: deprecor Te, omnipotens Pater et Domine, per Altissimum nomen Tuum Tetragrammaton, quod est Ioth, Heth, He, Vau, et per sanctum nomen Tuum Agla, ut mihi in hoc opere Cœlestium Sigillorum virtutem et potentiam tribuere digneris, ita ut omnia, quæ facere aggressurus sum, et Sanctissimo nomini Tuo non adversantur, feliciter mihi eveniant, et hoc sine corporis et animi periculo, in Nomine Dei ✠ Patris, Dei ✠ Filij, Dei ✠ Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

℥ Messias, Sother, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonaij, Melehaij, On, Athanatos, Yschijros, Tetragrammaton, Tu invisibilis inscriptio, Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum, protege et illumina me. Amen.

♂ O Domine Jesu Christe, lumen Angelorum, solatium Sanctorum et spes, Creator omnium creaturarum et Redemptor humanæ fragilitatis, qui Cœlum et Terram creasti, et dextera Tua concludis, deprecor Te, ut una cum Cœlesti Patre Tuo, animam meam illuminare digneris, radio Sancti Spiritus, ut ego ita per Te et per hoc præsens magicum Mijsterium pervenire valeam ad cognitiones omnis artis et veritatis, uti et Sapientiæ, memoriæ, eloquentiæque, et intelligentiæ, et per hoc omnibus gradus existam per virtutem Sancti Nominis Tui, Y et O, qui Deus meus es, et qui in principio omnia ex nihilo et per verbum tantum creasti, qui in Spiritu Tuo

14



18



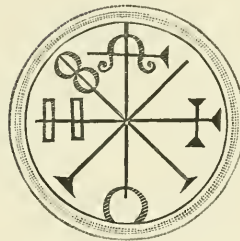
15



19



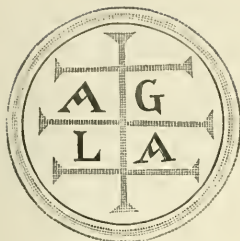
16



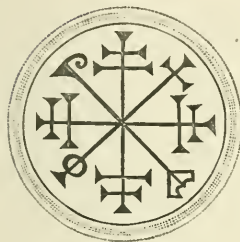
20



11



12



13



17





omnia instruis et doces, adauge, renova, et sanctifica intellectum<sup>1</sup> meum, cogitationes, verba et opera mea, et omnia quæ facio. O Deus meus! confirma sermones meos, et intellectum, adauge memoriam meam et eloquentiam meam, ad assumendum, comprehendendum, et in memoria retinendum intelligentiam omnium Scripturarum et Artium earumque eloquentiam; multiplica in me omne bonum, qui vivis et regnas cum Deo, Patre, et Spiritu Sancto, ab æterno in æternum. Amen.

♀ Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat et dominatur Agios, Otheos, Agios, ijschijros, Agios, Athanatos, Eleison ymas, Sancte Deus, Sancte Deus fortis, Deus immortalis, miserere nobis in nomine Dei Patris ✠ Dei Filij ✠ et Dei Spiritus Sancti. ✠ Amen.

) Deus nos benedicat, qui domum Abrahæ, Jeremiam Prophetam, et Joannem Baptistam benedixit, ita me benedicat Jesus Christus et illuminet me per virtutem Spiritus Sancti, qui venit super Apostolos, et per ejus gratiam mirabilia et magnalia fuerint locuti, in nomine Dei Patris ✠ Dei Filij ✠ Dei Spiritus Sancti ✠ Amen.

(.) O Domine, qui ipsemet dixisti,<sup>2</sup> *qui pulsat, ei aperiatur, et qui petit accipiet, et quidquid in nomine tuo petiturus est, habebit* eleva cor meum, ut Tibi placet hoc opus meum, et Divina Tua misericordia, et omnipotentia dilatet se in manibus meis, animus meus fiat activus, et confortetur per Te, et in me ad omnem prosperum successum operetur gratia Tua, ut prosperas radices agat, ita ut in Te secure gloriari valeam, de felici exitu mei propositi, et ut delectetur in operibus mandatorum Tuorum, ad impetrandam justitiam animi, et corporis mei sub protectione Spiritus Tui. Tu Rector, et Conservator omnium regnorum et Dominatum, quies rerum, omnium unus Deus, unus adjutor, Dominus, et Consutor, ortina,<sup>3</sup> et discerne hodie inter virtutem et infirmitatem meam, et dispone hodie vollo<sup>4</sup> in bonum, et ad beneplacitum Tuum inter virtutem et infirmitatem meam, et ne respicis multitudinem peccatorum meorum, sed assiste mihi, et visita me per visitationem Spiritus Tui, ut quid ego per carnem meam, et lue malitiæ peccatorum meorum deliqui, id omne per bonitatem, et asistentiam Tuam deleatur, et quod sententia damnationis ademit, hoc Tu sapientia æterna, qui sine fine omnia concludis, statuis, et ordina<sup>5</sup> reædificare dignare. Ah! confirma me miserum peccatorem, et indignum servum Tuum in operibus meis, adjuva me in his misterijs, quia invoco Te in adjutorium, qui sedes in throno gloriæ, et venturus es

<sup>1</sup> "Intellectum" (*sic*). Here and in the word "intelligentiam", as well as in other words (*e.g.*, "imensus", "inefabilia"), the scribe has omitted the second *l*. It is unnecessary to note each instance.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to St. Matthew, vii, 8; St. Luke, xi, 9.

<sup>3</sup> "Consutor, ortina", *sic* in MS.

<sup>4</sup> "Vollo", or perhaps "vello". The first vowel is a little blurred.

<sup>5</sup> Probably we should read "ordine".

judicare vivos et mortuos. Benedic et confirma hos formatos circulos, et omne sanctissimum in illis positum, et omnia que mihi conscripta, confecta, et conjuncta sunt. Benedic locum istum, ubi misteria hæc munda asservantur et constantur. Deus ✠ Pater benedicat locum istum, ubi salutare illius necessarium est. Deus ✠ Filius illuminet hunc locum, et omnes maligni Spiritus ab eo fugiant, et in ablocutionibus suis inutilibus obmutescant. Deus ✠ Spiritus Sanctus benedicat et sanctificet hæc omnia, et imagines; omnes virtutes et potestates cœlorum sanctificent locum istum una nobiscum, qui in nomine Jesu baptizati sumus, et custodiant omnes cœlestes exercitus, Sancti Throni, Cherubim, et Seraphim, Principatus, Dominationes, Potestates, et omnes Sancti Angeli et Archangeli, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, et Deus ✠ Pater, Deus ✠ Filius, et Deus ✠ Spiritus Sanctus, ita ut nullus vel in corpore vel in anima, aut in quibuscunque bonis, neque per lucitas,<sup>1</sup> et malignas illusiones, neque per rapinas, tam in judicio, quam per injustas sententias, aliove modo, neque in aqua, neque in terra, neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente, neque à meridie, neque a Septentrione, ulla unquam via aut modo me lædendi,<sup>2</sup> aut injustitia contra exercendi potestatem habeat, sed omnia opera mea ad felicem successum perducantur, et hoc mihi dignare, tribuere, et concedere, Tu Deus Pater ✠ Tu Deus Filius ✠ et Sanctus ✠ Spiritus. Amen.

‡ Alpha<sup>3</sup>. Adonaij . Sabaoth . Tetragramaton . Yon . Pneunaton . Sadaij . Confitemon . Edaij . Edalij . Ymon . Zepta . Eglata . Egrehel . Zehiel . Halbryl . Guttan . Azalachin . Adrija . Othee . Noehle . Antfer . Saton . Alignedabach . Cedion . Odon . Yaan . Hebenne . Agios . Sother . Emanuel . Theos . Messias . A et O . Ylomon . Salogi . Adargarim . Serett . Alleromoy . Salabasoy . Samnaym . Sucaros . Agnibar . Ebomnoym . Alkumelis . Ymotiam . Patagron . Satiatio . Viton . Ory . Anepepon . Athanasios . Athanatos . Yon . El . Eloy . Eloie . Ayon . Ozon . En . Pantheon . Yens . Vena . Pantagraton . Sinagogon . Satay . Anchologa . Oijhetan . Suzy . Enetsempetatem . Vaga . Iod . Echeriene . Anathon . Christon . Elyon . Tefeliton . Messaton . Panthon . Arimon . Ioemon . Isiston . On . Aynabalatij . Egreon . Helilam'asabathani . Aglatta . Infusma . Ischijos . Creaton . Callon . Orichyel . Lucidan . Anatatiel . Anasabilon . Abromeson . Stimulamaton . Thauvawijathet . Anabona . Arphedice . Segon . Anayefaton . Abichal . Anatentoy . Vsym . Kijrion . Anagraton . Tijmai . Geyge . Kratyron . Elorayn . Elphares . Occinonos . Amon . Orabaton . Yr . Panthater . Primelus . Istornus . Oryaen . Pyasyon . Onela . Thet . Pentagrammaton . Emal .

⊕ Principium et finis, item Rex Regum . Dominus Dominantium . Princeps pacis . Salvator . Redemptor . Servus . Ovis . Agnus .

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we ought to read "luridas", *sc.* "illicitas".

<sup>2</sup> Should we read "causa lædendi"?

<sup>3</sup> In the original a cross stands where in this and the following sentence a full stop is placed.



Charitas . Vitulus . Fons . Mons . Pons . Templum . Paraclisus .  
 Pater . Filius . Unigenitus . Primogenitus . Trinitas . Unitas .  
 Immortalis . Deus . Sanctus . Fortis . Via . Veritas . Vita . Aqua .  
 Flumen . Semita . Numen . Ros . Flos . Justus . Leo . Serpens .  
 Armatus . Vitis . Agricola . Samaritanus . Custos . Pax . Verbum .  
 Ignis . Virtus . Lux . Sol . Splendor . Propheta . Ens . Genus .  
 Generalissimum . Imensus . Increatus . Victoria . Amor . Gaudium .  
 Mediator . Vernus . Ostium . Janua . Sapientia . Imago . Substantia .  
 Unus . Verus . Sanctus . Bonus . Beatitudo . Fundamentum .  
 Lapis . Os . Petra . Hinulus . Electus . Angelus . Gloria . Vitis .  
 Simplex . Salus . Sanitas . Inefabilis . Gloriosus . Sublimis homo .  
 Sanctus . Sanctus . Sanctus . Dominus . Deus . Sabaoth .

✠ In Principio erat Verbum,<sup>1</sup> et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; hoc erat in principio apud Deum; omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso facta<sup>2</sup> est nihil, quod factum est. In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum; et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus à Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes; hic venit in testimonium, ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt; quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his, qui credunt in nomine ejus; qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt. ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST, et habitavit in nobis, et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti à Patre, plenum gratiæ et veritatis. Deo gratias.

Via<sup>3</sup>. Virgo . Virga . Flos . Nubes . Regina . Theadecon . Tora .  
 Tacita . Imperatrix . Pacifica . Dominica . Terra . Ortus . Fons .  
 Puteus . Fœmina . Aurora . Luna . Sola . Sol . Aries . Porta .  
 Domus . Templum . Beata . Gloriosa . Pia . Aula . Principium .  
 Finis . Schola . Scala . Stella . Ancilla . Una . Unica . Os . Redem-  
 trix . Liberatrix . Archa . Testimonium . Generatrix . Amica .  
 Navis . Mulier . Pulchra . Mater . Speciosa . Adriana . Famosa .  
 Rosa . Benedicta . Humilitas . Manna . Maria . Amena . Adonay .  
 Ovis . Virtutum . Spes . Leo . Mens . Angelorum . Petra . Ame .  
 Sponsus . Deitas . Verax . Pax . Amor . Amen . Unitas . Fortitudo .  
 Novissimus . Omnipotens . Mathæus . Joannes . Marcus . Lucas . .

Ecce vos inimici fugite, crucem Domini nostri Jesu Christi vicit in eo de tribu Judæ. Radix David, Alleluja. Christe exaudi nos, Christe miserere nobis, et dona nobis pacem. Amen. Crux

<sup>1</sup> These words will be at once recognised as the Gospel for Christmas Day (St. John, i, 1-14).

<sup>2</sup> For "facta" we should read "factum".

<sup>3</sup> In the original a cross stands between each of these words.

Christi sit mecum. Crux Christi sit mihi scutum virtutis. Crux Christi custodiat me semper. Amen. Crux Christi sit mihi in refugium. Crux Christi sit mihi amœna salus. Crux Christi vincat mihi vincula æternæ mortis. Crux Christi sit supra me, ante me, pro me, et apud me.

Septem Verba Christi prolata in ligno crucis inclinent me, et alliciant me.

1. Verbum : Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.
  2. Verbum : Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.
  3. Verbum : Mulier, ecce Filius tuus, et, Joannes, ecce Mater tua.
  4. Verbum : Deus meus, Deus meus, utquid deliquisti me.
  5. Verbum : Sitio.
  6. Verbum : Consumatum est.
  7. Verbum : In manus Tuas commendo Spiritum meum.
- Longitudo † Christi.

§ In Periculis ignis, aquæ, et armorum custodies et proteges me, O Domine ! Tu me Scuto invincibili circumdabis me, et protectione Salutis Tuæ, armorum Tuorum nominis Tui et verbi Tui. O ! Domine, qui fulgura et tonitrua creasti, Tu circumdabis me invincibili muro, et armis potentiæ Tuæ proteges me, quemadmodum fecisti Josuæ, ut sol et luna tandiu steterint, donec devicerit inimicos suos, ita deprecor Te omnipotentem Deum, ut etiam me exaudire digneris, sicut Jonam in ventre ceti, et sanum eum conservasti, et terræ restituisti, ut et Daniele in spica<sup>1</sup> Leonum, et tres pueros in fornace ignis ardentis, ac Moïsen in monte Sijnai exaudisti. O ! Domine Deus Omnipotens, qui mundum et tenebras illuminasti, permitte ut etiam meus clamor ad Te veniat propter Sanctissima nomina Tua : Barruch, Bacutha, Thau, Panthaton, Sennas, Assareth, Othiezel, Achetaij, Cijcon, Thelom, Ozazon, Unflatem, Tanachiore, Agla, Tetragramaton, Adonaij, Ischijros, Meleathe, Agios, Athanatos, Otheos, Ymas, Deus, a quo terra quotidie contremiscit, quæ inefabilia sunt, et sicut Tu fortissime et omnipotens Deus et Dominus aperuisti Mare rubrum, et filii Israel sicco pede incolumes transire potuerint, ita etiam mihi in omnibus periculis fortitudine assistere digneris, et me in omnibus ignis et aquarum periculis per potentiam Tuam custodire et incolumem conservare, ut in omnibus victoriam et triumphum valeam obtinere, per amorem dilectissimi Filii Tui Jesu Christi, qui mei causa in nocens spinis se coronari, flagelari, manus et pedes suos clavis perfodi, latus operiri, et Sanctissimum Corpus suum crucifigi, permisit, et sic innocens, ac ultro in mortem ire voluit, ut roseo suo sanguine nos redimeret, et per diram et amarissimam mortem suam ab æterna morte nos liberaret, ac perinde æterna gaudia ac beatitudinem procuravit, nunc autem noster Advocatus effectus.

<sup>1</sup> "Spica", probably for "specæ".

[Here follow the names of the four Evangelists, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes, together with six circles; four of these contain each a cross; one a cross with the letters I . N . R . I . in the four quarters; and one with the letters NB in the centre, with the inscription *Homo memento æternitatis memoria.*]

§ I . N . R . I . Hæc triumphalis inscriptio custodiat me ab omni malo, ab omnibus et visibilibus et invisibilibus inimicis meis, quibus ego quatuor illa animalia ante faciem Dei stantia, rutilosque et acutos oculos habentia pro defensione mea oppono.

§ O Sclopeta,<sup>1</sup> ignis, aqua, et armorum pericula sistite per planetas, et omnia, quæ in cœlis sunt, et in terra per venerationem Sancti Spiritus, qui in Jordane, dum Christus baptizatus, supra Christum quievit, et per introitum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui ex Cœlestis Patris sinu in terram descendit, peccata mundi deleturus, ut nos peregrinos et exules secum in Cœlestem Patriam ducturus, et afflictos consolaturus, miserere mei. Benedictio Dei ✠ Patris, Dei ✠ Filii, et Dei ✠ Spiritus Sancti, et venerandæ Sanctissimæ Trinitatis et Unitatis sit supra me, et semper apud me. Benedictio incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, passionis ac mortis, gloriosæ Resurrectionis a mortuis, descensionis<sup>2</sup> ad Cælum, et missionis Spiritus Sancti, et fontes, qui ante faciem Dei Patris ineffabili virtute, et amœnissimo odore dilati sunt, custodiant me semper. Benedictio beatæ Virginis Mariæ, et unio omnium Sanctorum et Angelorum Dei sint semper circa et apud me ✠ Deus misericordiae et totius consolationis, qui secundum magnam misericordiam Tuam me redemisti, Tibi me commendo, cum corpore, anima, honore, fama, bonis cogitationibus, verbis, et operibus, et omnibus meis interioribus et exterioribus sensibus, et rogo Te ex intimo corde meo, ut me ab omnibus meis visibilibus et invisibilibus inimicis, uti etiam ab ignium, aquarum, aliisque periculis, angustiis ac morbis, custodias, præserve, mihi etiam mores, vitamque honestam Christianam dignare tribuas, nec non pro futuro secundum paternam Tuam voluntatem bona morte me defungi permittas; ita adjuvet me Deus ✠ Pater, Deus ✠ Filius, Deus ✠ Spiritus Sanctus, Sanctissima et nunquam satis laudanda Trinitas ex nunc usque in æternum. Amen, Amen, Amen.

G. S. W. S. G.

S. S. E. S. S.

W. E. W. E. W.

G. S. W. S. G.

Anno + Trinitas + Corona

C + E + D +

R + A + H + W +

Maria . I + A F +

W ð S +

<sup>1</sup> "*Sclopeta, sclopetum*, tormentum bellicum manuale; Gall. *Escopette*." (Ducange.)

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Of course the sense requires "ascensionis".

## APPENDIX TO THE MAGICAL ROLL,

*Being an attempt to arrange in definite order the Names, Words, and Epithets found in it.*

Names of the Eternal Father taken from the Greek :

Athanatos = Ἀθάνατος	Othee, Otheos = ὦ Θεέ, ὦ Θεός
Hagios = Ἅγιος	On = ὁ ὦν.

Names of the Eternal Father taken from the Latin : Creaton. I suppose intended for "Creator".

Names of Our Lord taken from the Hebrew : Emmanuel, Messias.

Names of Our Lord taken from the Greek :

Alpha et Omega = Ἀλφα καὶ Ὠ μέγα	Kyrion = Κύριος
Athanasios = Ἀθανάσιος	Odon = Ὀδός
Callon = Κάλλος	Pentagrammaton = Ἰησοῦς
Christus, Christon = Χριστός	Sother = Σωτήρ
Ischijros, Iskiros, Yschiiros = Ἰσχυρός	Yon, Y et On = ὁ ὦν
Jesus = Ἰησοῦς	Egyreon = ὁ ἐγείρων
	Helilamasabathani = Ἠλί, Ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανί.

Names of the Lord taken from the Latin :

Agnus, Agricola, Amor, Angelus electus, Aqua, Armatus	Numen
Beatitudo, Bonus	Os, Ostium, Ovis
Charitas, Custos	Pax, Pons, Propheta
En, Ens	Ros
Flos, Flumen, Fons, Fortis, Fundamentum	Salus, Samaritanus, Sanitas, Sapientia, Senita, Serpens, Servus, Simplex, Sol, Splendor,
Gaudium, Generalissimum, Genus, Gloria, Gloriosus	Sponsus, Sponsus, Sublimus Homo, Substantia
Hinnulus	Templum
Ignis, Imago, Immensus, Incratus, Ineffabilis, INRI	Unus
Janua, Justus	Verbum, Vernus, Verus, Veritas,
Lapis, Leo, Lux	Via, Vita, Victoria, Victus, Vitis,
Mediator, Mons	Vitulus

Names of the Holy Spirit : Paraclitus = Παράκλητος ; Pneumaton = Πνεύματιον.

Names of the Holy Trinity : Pantheon = Πάνθειον ; Sacrosancta Trinitas.

Names of good angels : Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel.

Groups of letters to which I can attach no meaning :

CBM

HTU

PSAO

SSL.

## Names of the Blessed Virgin :

Adriana, Amen, Amica, Amoenâ, Amor, Ancilla, Archa, Aries, Aula, Aurora	Navis, Novissimus, Nubes
Beata, Benedicta	Omnipotens, Ortus, Os, Ovis
Deitas, Dominica, Domus	Pacifica, Pax, Petra, Pia, Porta, Principium, Pulchra, Puteus
Famosa, Finis, Flos, Fœmina, Fons, Fortitudo	Redemptrix, Regina, Rosa
Generatrix, Gloriosa	Scala, Schola, Sol, Sola, Speciosa, Spes Virtutum, Sponsus
Humilitas	Tacita, Templum, Terra, Testimonium, Theadecon, <sup>1</sup> Tora
Imperatrix	Una, Unica, Unitas
Leo, Liberatrix, Luna	Verax, Via, Virga, Virgo
Manna, Maria, Mens Angelorum, Mulier	

A considerable number of these epithets might be illustrated from any good collection of Latin hymns. An hour's study in Mone<sup>2</sup> has furnished me with the following, which are arranged in alphabetical order :

<i>Amica</i> , sponsa, socia. Hymn 547	Salve, <i>nubes</i> rorans mella. 508
Tu es <i>archa</i> testamenti. 525	<i>Ortus</i> et conclusus <i>hortus</i> . 537
Salve <i>aula</i> summi Regis. 508	<i>Florens hortus</i> , ægris gratus. 531
Ut <i>aurora</i> surgens progreditur,	O Maria, clausus <i>hortus</i> . 326
Velut <i>luna</i> pulchra describitur,	<i>Hortus</i> voluptatis. 511
Super cuncta ut <i>sol</i> erigitur,	Ave, <i>portus</i> naufragantis. 510
Virgo pia. 326	<i>Portus</i> indulgentiæ. 511
Thronus <i>Deitatis</i> . 54	O Maria, clausa <i>porta</i> . 326
Ave <i>Templum Deitatis</i> . 510	<i>Porta</i> cœli, templum Dei. 530
<i>Finis</i> lethi, vitæ via. 531	<i>Regina</i> cœli. 333
<i>Flos</i> et gemma puellarum. 510	Salve, nobilis <i>Regina</i> . 508
<i>Flos</i> incomparabilis. 511	Gaude <i>Rosa</i> speciosa. 516
<i>Fons</i> letitiæ, <i>fons</i> misericordiæ. 511.	<i>Rosa</i> sine spina. 322
<i>Fons</i> patens, <i>fons</i> copiæ. 525	Sicut <i>Rosa</i> inter spinas. 326
Gaude sancta Dei <i>genitrix</i> virgo. 514	Salve cælum tangens <i>scala</i> . 508
<i>Imperatrix</i> clementiæ. 433	Tu fidei <i>scala</i> cœli. 538
<i>Imperatrix</i> es in polo. 510	<i>Sponsa</i> consecrata. 511
<i>Imperatrix</i> infernorum. 510	Ave <i>Templum</i> castitatis. 513
<i>Imperatrix</i> Reginarum. 510	Maria <i>Templum</i> Domini. 574
<i>Imperatrix</i> cœlestium. 535	Θεοτόκος inelyta. 341
<i>Luna</i> sine nebulis. 510	Sacra Virgo, te <i>theoteta</i> . 326
Salve, O segura <i>navis</i> . 508	Virgo pia, vitæ via. 565
	Cæcis lumen, claudis via. 530
	<i>Virga</i> florens, virgo nata. 521
	<i>Virga</i> Jesse de radice. 326

A somewhat longer search would probably have discovered many

<sup>1</sup> Θεοτόκος.

<sup>2</sup> *Laténische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. ii, "Marienlieder."



more of these epithets. Some, however, such as *Aries*<sup>1</sup> and *Leo* are in all probability misplaced. Enough has been given above to show that the names have not been selected at random.

Words for which no certain sense has yet been suggested :

Abichal, Abra, Abracola, Abra-	Kratyron
to, Abromeson, Achetaii, Adar-	Lucidan
garim, Adether, Adriiga, Ag-	Melchail, Meleathe, Messaton
latta, Agnibar, Aimulamath-	Nochle
thon, Alignedebach, Alkamel-	Occinonos, Oijhetan, Onaijeon in
lis, Alleromoyn, Almiseron,	Excelsis, Onela, Orabaton, Orey-
Amon, Anaboma, Anagraton,	teon, Orichyel, <sup>7</sup> Orion, <sup>8</sup> Orista-
Anasnabylon, Anatatiel, Ana-	beron, Ory, Oryam, Othiezel,
tentoy, Anathon, Anayefaton,	Ozazon, Ozon <sup>9</sup>
Anchologa, Anepepon, Anna-	Pantagraton, Panthator, <sup>10</sup> Patagron,
nijon, Annaniser, Antfer, Ari-	Penthaton, Primelus, Pyasyon
mon, Arphedice, Assareth,	Salabaronym, Salogi, Samnaym,
Aynabalatii, Ayon, Azalachin	Sataii, Satiation, Saton, Segeon,
Bacantha	Sennas, Serett, Sinagogon, Sti-
Cedion, Cijcon, Confitemon <sup>2</sup>	mulamathon, Stimulamaton,
Ebomnoym, Echeriene, Edaii,	Sucaros, Suzy
Edalii, Eglata, Egrehel, <sup>3</sup> Eley-	Tanachiore, Tefeliton, Thau, Thau-
sion, <sup>4</sup> Elorayn, Elpheres, Ely-	vawijathet, Thelom, Thet, <sup>11</sup> Ty-
on, Emal, Enetsempetatem,	mail
Esaii <sup>5</sup>	Udoi, Unflatem, Usym
Flamateon	Vaga, Vena, Viton
Geyge, Guttan	Yann, Yens, Ymas, <sup>12</sup> Ymon, Ylo-
Halbryl, Hebenne	mon, Ymotiam, Yon, Yr
Ifusma, Ioemon, Isiston, Istor-	Zamathon, Zehiel, Zepta
nus, Iod <sup>6</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> See the *Sequence*, printed *supra*, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this is nothing but "confitemur" in disguise.

<sup>3</sup> Egiehiel is "an angel who rules in one of the chambers of the moon", according to Mr. Barrett.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a dim recollection of "Kyrie Eleison."

<sup>5</sup> The prophet (?).

<sup>6</sup> The second cabalistic name of God. (*Magus, Cabala*, p. 36.)

<sup>7</sup> Oriphael is "an Intelligence set over Saturn." (*Magus, Cabala*, ii, 56.)

<sup>8</sup> In allusion to "the seven stars and Orion."

<sup>9</sup> Probably 'Ο ζῶν.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps meant for Πανθέατος.

<sup>11</sup> The Egyptian Tet.

<sup>12</sup> Can this be ὕμῆς, ὕμῶν?

## FOREIGN REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS IN EAST KENT.

BY S. W. KERSHAW, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read at the Dover Congress, 1883.*)

AMONG the many branches of study, local archæology asserts a strong claim on our attention, for by its pursuit we are enabled to trace the names and descent of families, their settlement and industries in certain districts.

The eastern part of Kent is an example in point, as it has received on its soil foreign refugees, who have since exercised much influence on the condition and economies of our country. From the closely opposite shore of France, it is only probable that the port of Dover should be one of the principal places to receive those who, driven by persecution for conscience' sake, sought a shelter in the less restrained religion of England.

The reign of Edward VI may be taken in a measure as representing that change of opinion which gave greater freedom to religious thought, and which introduced to our notice those pioneers of our history who aided and encouraged all means of national improvement.

At that time Peter Martyr, Bucer, and other learned strangers, were at our Universities; Edward VI had granted a charter to the foreign Protestants for the exercise of their religion; and later on, we read that John à Lasco had the general superintendence of the foreign churches; and that he procured, through the influence of Cecil, Lord Burghley, the King's letters patent for a Protestant to set up a French printing press in 1552.

Archbishop Cranmer also helped the cause, and on the occasion of the Book of Common Prayer being translated into French, wrote to obtain a patent from the King for the sole property of the impression. This rare book (a copy of which is in Lambeth Library) was printed by one Thomas Gualtier in 1553, translated into French by Francois Philippe, and dedicated to Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely. One Rudolph Cavallier was

Chief Pastor of the Refugee Churches in Edward VI's time; he was afterwards Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and had the gift of the last prebend to fall vacant in Canterbury Cathedral.

In a measure, then, England was prepared to welcome those who, as we shall see, landed on all points of her coast. The first to arrive were the French Walloons or Flemings, who, persecuted by the Emperor Charles V, came to our shores in the latter end of Henry VIII's reign; and to a great extent settled at Canterbury.

From the fame of that glorious minster I shall presently ask your attention to the small chapel in the crypt; that chapel around which are centred the earliest associations, from its having formed the place of worship of the refugees for some three hundred years; and that now, Sunday after Sunday, while our Cathedral service is proceeding above, the simple and earnest song of the Huguenot descendants is continuing its wonted course.

The next to arrive at Canterbury were some more Netherlandish Protestants, about 1550, and with them many French, so that this year (1550) really dates the status of this increasing congregation, who, from worshiping in some obscure site in the city, acquired the use of the chapel in the under-croft or crypt of the cathedral. Again, the year 1572 (the fatal St. Bartholomew) brought over another band of refugees, so that now Canterbury had acquired a large settlement of foreigners who continued to reside there for several generations. We must not forget the industries which these exiled people brought with them and assiduously pursued here. Silk weaving grew so famous that it became a saying that "Ernulf's crypt was the home of the loom and the shuttle".

In the petition to the municipality presented in 1564, one Giles Cousin is mentioned as superintendent of all the weaving, and he is further described as "*Magister operum et conductor totius congregationis in opere*".<sup>1</sup>

Weaving continued at Canterbury till it was superseded by that of Spitalfields, about 1790; other trades, however, were plied in the Cathedral city, so that from about 1550 to 1720 its commercial status was great.

<sup>1</sup> Somner's Appendix, p. 53.

Besides weaving, the manufacture of ornamental glass was carried on and perfected by the refugees in a very artistic manner—silk, velvet, and like materials, were also brought to much excellence, and it is needless to name the district of Spitalfields as the great centre of this industry. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, says, 1652, “I inspected the manner of chambletting silks and grograms at Mr. La Doree’s, in Moorfields.”

The next important settlement was 1605, following the “Revocation of the Edict of Nantes”, and for about one hundred years from this date Canterbury maintained a large proportion of refugee French.

The privileges for free worship and access were not acquired without the usual formal grants and charters, and I select some of the more interesting, as throwing light on the foreign colony in this city. Thus, in 1561, is a petition of the French strangers to the Mayor of Canterbury, “for grants of liberty and privilege”. The names thereunto signed are :—

Michael Cousin  
 Jacobus Querin  
 Petrus du Bosc  
 J. de la Forterye  
 Noel Lesterne  
 Nicolaus Dubuisson

Antonius du Verdier  
 Phillipus de Mieze  
 Robertus Javelin  
 Johannes le Pelu  
 Petrus Desportes  
 Jacobus Boudet

A printed copy of this petition is preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, also the Queen’s letter of licence (1561), which directed the Mayor that such as were approved of by the Archbishop should exercise their trades. In 1574, six articles of agreement were made by the Mayor and magistrates of Canterbury with the strangers under their protection. The numbers appear to have increased so rapidly, that the question arose as to their maintenance, as seems to be indicated by a document, *circ.* 1579, which mentions why those of the strangers’ congregation, in the parish of Holy Cross, be not charged to the English poor.

In 1641, Hasted states, “That many other Walloons coming, it being found that by their trade they are beneficial to the city, a book is provided wherein their names shall be entered, with their testimonials.”

The number of refugees so increased, that in 1665

(Charles II) there were in this city 126 master weavers, their whole number being about 1,300; so that the King granted them a charter to enable them to become a company. The first master, wardens, assistants, and fellowship of weavers were as follows; and we may reasonably infer that they were residents of Canterbury, from the great trade carried on there.

John Six, the first Master.

John Du Bois } Wardens.  
James Six }

John Bout  
Gideon Despaigne  
Float Paton  
Peter Le Houcq  
John Lespine

James Mannake  
Paul Des Farnacques  
Henry Despaigne  
Philip Leper

The first Assistants.

The Weavers' Hall is at the "Blackfriars" in Canterbury.

It appeared there was some apprehension lest the weaving trade should be diverted from Canterbury, and the *Lambeth MS.* 942 gives the words of a petition, signed by leading refugees, the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company, presented to Archbishop Tenison, praying him to promote the Bill to restrict the importation of East India silks.

"May itt please your Grace, there being a Bill in the Honourable house of Comons, which hath been read twice & ordered to be read a third time, Entituled an Act for Restraining the wearing the East India & Persia wrought Silks & Bengall's, &c., in England, and there being great hopes itt will pass that Hon'ble House, This is humbly to desire that Your Grace would be pleased to forward & promote the Bill when it's before the most Hon'ble house of Lords. Wee are emboldened to give your Grace this trouble, knowing that there is nothing more agreeable to your Grace's Inclination & endeavours then to promote the good of the poor & the Interest and wellfare of England in generall. Wee do humbly conceive that this Bill will conduce very much to the advantage of both. There is by a modest Computation severall hundred Thousand persons whose livelyhoods depend upon the makeing of Silks & Silke and Worsted and all worsted Stuffs in this kingdome. And in this place only there is severall Thousands English and French that are employed, and whose livelyhood wholly depends upon makeing these manufactures. The Improvements that have bene made in these Manufactures for these few years past are very



great. And wee do believe this Nation may truly be said to equalise if not exceed any nation at present for Workemanshipp & Ingenuity and increase in people, if one encouragement be but given them. And the greatest discouragement they can Receave is by being undersold by manufactured goods Imported into this kingdome, which noe place can do so cheape but from the East Indies people workeing there at so low Rates that they can undersell all the Europeans. Wee have desired our factors whome wee have employed to sollicite this Affaire for us, to waite upon your Grace and to give you full satisfaction & Information in all Questions you shall please to aske them about this matter. And wee doe submitt all to your Graces great wisdome and jugement, and are your Graces

“Most humble & obedient Serv'ts,

“John Mercier, Master of y<sup>e</sup> Corporacon of Weavers.

“Peter Phene	} Wardens.
Gideon Despaigne	
John Six	} Assistants.
Henry Despaigne	
Joshua Danbrine	
Step. du Thort	
James Six	

“Cant., the 30th of March 1696.”<sup>1</sup>

About 1799 the weaving trade had much declined, the foreigners had become absorbed into the English population who followed the same occupation; the parishes of St. Alphage and Northgate were still inhabited by the refugees. At this time Hasted writes, “there are not more than ten master weavers, the most part of the manufactory being removed to Spitalfields”, and he gives the name of the Company as follows,—“John Callaway, *Master*; Thomas de Lasaux, Samuel Lepine, *Wardens*; Peter de Lasaux, James de Lasaux, Peter Gambier, John Halbet, Thomas Ridout, *Assistants*.” It may here be mentioned that the manufacture of “Canterbury muslin” was perfected by Mr. Callaway, who improved on the resources of Arkwright.

We may reasonably infer that aid would be required on this withdrawal of trade. Assistance was also needed for the ministers and their congregations. The subscriptions formed in London for relief of the Protestant refugees, both Walloon and French, at different times, have

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth MS. 942 (118).

formed several items in the manuscript correspondence, specially of Archbishops Tillotson, Tenison, Wake, and Secker, with the committee appointed in London to give such relief. The bulk of such correspondence is preserved in the Lambeth MSS., and we may conclude that some of the money was disbursed to Canterbury. Thus, in MS. 941, "List for the Distribution of H.M. Bounty for Relief of Poor Distressed French Ministers, 1706", we find the following names in East Kent: "Monsieur Raoul, with a church at Faversham worth little; M. Campredon, Dover."

It appears at several times the funds of the different ministers were very insufficient, and we constantly find letters of appeal; and the Lambeth MS. No. 1029, exactly defines the position of the ministers at Rye and Dover:

*"To Archbp. Tenison.*

"Brookland, Sep. 2, 1697.

"Mr. Benech, minister of y<sup>e</sup> Fr. Church of Rye, and Mr. Campredon, Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Fr. Ch. of Dover, being obliged to go up to apply themselves to your Grace for a redress of y<sup>e</sup> wrong done to them by their Brethren upon y<sup>e</sup> account of their not performing y<sup>e</sup> promise they have made to my Ld. Galloway to pay them £6 p. ann. in lieu of y<sup>e</sup> £10 their Churches are to have for y<sup>e</sup> supporting of their ministry, according to a former settlement, I make bold to embrace this opportunity to assure your Grace of my dutifulness and Gratitude for all your favours, and humbly to begg y<sup>r</sup> Grace would be pleased to continue me the honour of your protection. I hope you will give me leave at the same time to represent to your Grace that the Case of these poor distressed ministers is deplorable, and y<sup>e</sup> wrong done to them evident, as y<sup>r</sup> Grace will best know by them. Their Churches being composed of very poor families, are very far from making up this disappointment. So that should their Brethren succeed in the design they have to deprive them of their right, it is to be feared they will be discouraged to continue in their present station, in case there is no consideration made between Ministers that do take as great a care of their flocks as they do, and ministers that do not serve: their brethren are unwilling to do them right, they have no other comfort left to them in this affair but in y<sup>e</sup> hope they have Your Grace will hear them, and interpose in this matter that right may take place. It is needless for me to put in my humble suit in their behalf, knowing as well as I do how both just and compassionate Your Grace is towards the oppressed. I dare not add any more but the great want I am in of your graces benediction.

"I am with all dutifulness,

"Most Reverend father,

"Your Graces most humble and obedient servant,

"JO: DEFFRAY."

FRENCH SERVICE IN THE CRYPT AND ELSEWHERE IN  
CANTERBURY.

We have seen that at the first arrival of refugees in this city they worshipped in some place or house; that their numbers so much increased, both Walloons and French having settled here, that Queen Elizabeth granted them the use of the undercroft in the Cathedral. This was retained for some time, till dissensions in religion divided the communities, the Flemish-French refugees retaining the use of the crypt, while what was called "The French Uniform Church" assembled in "The Malt-house" near, or in the once existing Archbishop's Palace, now occupied by the site of buildings at the western end of the Cathedral Yard. In 1720 we read that "Anne Herault of Canterbury gave £10 for the adorning and repairing of the French chapel or meeting-house in the Archbishop's Palace." On the decline of the silk and other trades in Canterbury, about 1790, the numbers of both congregations much diminished, and henceforth the crypt again became the place of worship of the united churches. There was also a project, at one time, for settling the Protestants in the parish church of St. Mildred, and transferring the Anglican service to St. Margaret's.

The account of the earliest ministers, from 1564 downwards, forms a valuable historical record, as several families in Eastern Kent claim some connection with this source. Among the most eminent I may name M. Le Cène, a refugee from Caen. He translated the Bible into French, and his collection of theological MSS. was rare and extensive.

The present pastor, the Rev. J. A. Martin, B.D., has shown great desire for the maintenance of the service which is performed every Sunday in the crypt of the Cathedral. This crypt was built by Prior Ernulph, and the entire width of the western portion was devoted to the Walloon and French Protestants from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the beginning of this century, when it was partly divided off. The rough plan of the crypt is shown in Batteley's *Antiquities of Canterbury*. A critical description of its architecture and historical associations will be found in vol. xiii, *Archæologia Cantiana*, by the

Rev. Canon Scott-Robertson. It will be seen from the following extract from Somner's *Canterbury*, that in the year 1640 the congregation in the crypt was so numerous that we read of its increase as follows :

"The West part whereof being spacious and lightsome, for many yeares hath beene the 'Strangers Church.' A congregation for the most part of distressed exiles, growne so great and yet daily multiplying, that the place in short time is likely to prove a hive too little to containe such a swarme. So great an alteration is there since the time the first of the tribe came hither, the number of them then consisting of but eighteene families or thereabouts, which with the termes or Articles granted them at their humble suite by the then Maior and Commonalty of the City upon their first admittance."

I now briefly enumerate some of the varying phases through which this famous refugee community has passed in regard to its religious opinions, which, as we have seen, caused a temporary alteration in their places of worship. Some of the differences arose from neglect of the French portion properly contributing their share of expense, the Walloons having expended much, and the French Committee in London failing to support their Canterbury brethren. In this juncture representation was made to Archbishop Tenison in 1695, and the Lambeth MS. 942 gives the exact position of affairs.

A greater element of disunion was the rise of Socinianism, and in 1697 letters are found among the Lambeth MS. 1029, from M. Trouillart and M. J. Rondeau on the subject. M. Rondeau is called "Ministre d'une petite paroisse dans ce Diocèse." He was brother of one Claude Rondeau. This letter was sent to the "Archdiacre de Canterbury". In 1709, as we have heard, the united place of worship in the crypt was abandoned by the French section of the refugees, who assembled in the "Malt-House" for about thirty years. The divisions between the Walloons and French congregations are also fully set forth in the State Papers (1661-2) preserved in the Public Record Office. The names of the dissentient ministers are also given. It may be stated generally that many petitions in favour both of the religious and civic cause of the Protestants were entertained by Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.



It will now be seen how great an influence these refugee settlements exerted on the local history of this part of Kent, both by the introduction of industries and by the establishment of families who had been connected with the Cathedral and city, whose descendants survive in name to this day. Many of these are interred in the Cathedral Cloisters and the city churches, especially Holy Cross, Westgate; and here may be remarked that the fast obliterating inscriptions, which are so valuable as recording family descent, should be *copied* and *preserved*. Those who wish to consult in detail the genealogical richness of Canterbury should examine the *Register-Book of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials within the Precincts of Christ Church, Canterbury*, edited for the Harleian Society by R. Hovenden (1878), where several entries of refugee families can be traced.

Among names immediately connected with the Cathedral body as canons and prebends, all more or less distinguished for piety and learning, are the following:

*Pierre du Moulin*; fled into England for religion's sake; collated by Archbishop Abbot in 1615; author of several learned treatises; died at Sedan, 1658.

*Peter du Moulin*, succeeded his father in 1660, was a Doctor of Leyden, chaplain to Charles II, and died in 1684, rector of Adisham in Kent, and buried in the Cathedral.

*Adrian Saravia*, a native of Flanders, preacher to the French church at Leyden, 1582; admitted Canon of Canterbury *cir.* 1597; Archbishop Whitgift and Cecil Lord Burleigh were his friends and benefactors; rector of Great Chart in 1601; first married Catherine D'Allez, a French refugee.

*Benjamin Carrier*, Prebend, installed 1609, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift.

*Isaac Casaubon*, invited by James I from France, son of a French refugee from Bordeaux, who settled at Geneva. At the Massacre of St. Bartholomew his family fled into concealment; and Smiles, the historian, relates that while hiding in a cavern, Isaac received from his father his first lesson in Greek. He died in 1614, and was the author of several learned works.

*Merie Casaubon*, son of the above, Prebend of Canter-



bury in 1628, was vicar of Minster and Monkton, in the Isle of Thanet, in 1634, the latter of which he resigned for the rectory of Ickham in this county. He died in 1671, and was buried in the Cathedral. He gave some MSS. to the Cathedral Library, among which were the Annals of his Life, also a collection of Greek and Roman coins.

*Louis Herault*, installed Prebend, Aug. 25, 1671, died 1682, buried in the Cathedral.

*J. Maximilian de L'Angle*,<sup>1</sup> installed 27 July 1678; curate of Walmer (resigned); vicar of Shepherd's Well, 1683; rector of St. George's, Canterbury, 1683; resigned, 1692; and lastly, rector of Chartham, where he died and was buried, 1724.

*David Durel*, native of Jersey, Prebend of Canterbury in 1677; afterwards vicar of Ticehurst in Sussex, where he died, 1775.

*John Castillion*, Canon of Christ Church, was Dean of Rochester, 1672; rector of Mersham, near Ashford, and vicar of Minster in Thanet, 1662. He died in 1688, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

*Theodore Delasaye*, vicar of St. Mildred's, Canterbury, in 1745, and died July 1772.

Other noted refugee names connected with Canterbury and the eastern part of Kent are as follow :

*Charpentier*, of Ruffec in Angoumois, a martyr to the brutality of Louis XIV. His son, who took refuge in England, was pastor of the Malt-House Church, Canterbury in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of the Cathedral.

*D'Ombraïn*, a family of good descent, who, it is stated, fled from France in an open boat in the sixteenth century, and was accompanied by six other families. A memorial brass to this family is in the south aisle of the Cathedral; and a descendant, the Rev. H. H. D'Ombraïn, is vicar of Westwell, near Ashford.

*Du Bois*, a Protestant, from Brittany, settled at Canterbury and other towns.

*Durand*, a noble family of Dauphiny. One François Durand, from Alençon, was forty-one years minister of

<sup>1</sup> A pedigree of this family, compiled by H. Wagner, Esq., F.S.A., has just appeared in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xv.

the French church here, *circ.* 1767. Francis William Durand, who died in 1789, aged seventy-four, has a memorial slab near the west door of Holy Cross, Westgate, in this city.

*Gambier*, a refugee family settled at Canterbury. The name frequently occurs in the registers of the French church there.

*Georges, Paul*. Two persons of this name were ministers of the French church here.

*Herault*, a refugee pastor from Normandy, who obtained a living in the English Church, *temp.* Charles I. He was forced to fly again into France at the civil war, but returned at the Restoration, and was made a Canon of Canterbury.

*Lefroy, Antony*, a native of Canterbury, settled there about 1579. His descendants followed the silk-dyeing till the trade was removed to Spitalfields.

*Lestang, Louis*, settled at Canterbury with his family.

*Le Sueur*. The Rev. W. Le Sueur was minister of the French Episcopal Chapel in this city, and died in 1746. A monument to him, erected by his niece, is in St. Alphege Church.

*Six, James, F.R.S.* There is a cenotaph to him in Holy Cross, Westgate.

Among foreigners who have held *civic* office, the following have been Mayors of Canterbury: <sup>1</sup> Thomas Paramore, 1607; Paul Petit, 1646; Richard Picard, 1720; Thomas Delasaux, 1791.

Also among the Sheriffs of Kent were: Herne, 1587; Robert Jaques of Elmstone, 1669; W. J. Perrin of West Farleigh, 1776; W. Harrenc, 1777; M. Cartier, 1789; John Fineux of Hawhouse.

In a brief survey like the present it is impossible to notice more than some leading names who have been connected with this district, and among others are the following. Edward de Bouverie: his family settled here after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, also at Sandwich. The Earl of Radnor is descended from this lineage, and is the President of the French Protestant Hospice, Victoria Park, London. Thomas Minet settled in Canter-

<sup>1</sup> Here I may refer to the city archives, which contain much information as to the trades and habitations of the refugee settlers in Canterbury.

bury, from a family in Picardy. The Domestic Papers (James I) give the list of names of the artizans, denizens, and English, born of the Walloon congregation of Canterbury, who at that time numbered more than 200 persons.

In order to give the reader some idea of the prevalence of foreign descent in this district, I have extracted from Lewis' *Ecclesiastical Collections* (Lambeth MS. 1024) the names of those rectors or vicars who evidently can trace refugee origin. Others occur ; but the following will be enough to prove this point, and for further information recourse must be had to the MS. itself. The names are as under.

Aufriere, Beaksbourne, 1728 ; Ayggeville, D.D., All Saints, Lydd, 1642 ; Breton or Le Breton, Thos., Bough-ton, 1731, also Charing, 1742 ; Barbette, Edward, Chislet, 1642 ; Baurel or Barrel, Maidstone, 1602, sequestered, 1643 ; Campredon, David, Coldred, 1731 ; Corbet, Edward, Chartham, 1643 ; Cressener, A., Eastry, 1746 ; Deanson, Thomas, Sandwich (St. Peter's), 1662 ; Defray, John, New Romney, 1720 ; Old Romney, 1713 ; D'Evereux, Simon, Brookland, 1731 ; Fremoult, S., Wootton, 1739 ; Lamprey, Thomas, Canterbury (St. Mildred's), 1720 ; Lavaure, James, Betshanger, 1741 ; Lidgould, John, Goudherst, 1728 ; Minett, John, Eythorne, 1734, also Hardres, 1743 ; Mon-ins, Richard, Ewell, 1725 ; Petty, Michael, Chartham, 1692 ; Vallavine, Peter, Monkton (Thanet), 1729.

Information may also be gleaned from the benefactions, in land or kind, for the maintenance of the religious services connected with the refugees. Thus we find land given at Burmarsh, in 1675, by Peter Delasaux, J. Hulbert, and Louis Decaufour ; also bequests from Abraham Didier, the particulars of which are as follow :

"Abraham Didier of Canterbury, merchant, by his will in 1688 gave to the elders and deacons of the Walloon congregation in Canterbury, of which he was a member, one annuity or rent-charge of 20s., to be issuing and taken out of a piece of meadow land containing two or three acres, in Ickham, purchased of one Dixon, widow, and others ..... to hold to them and their successors for ever, to the use of the poor of the said congregation for ever, payable yearly, and to be laid out in fuel or burning wood by his son Abraham Didier, his heirs or assigns, about Christmas Day yearly, and to be distributed among such deserving poor and needy people of the said congregation as they should think fit, with power of

distress, etc., on non payment; and he gave the said meadow to his said son Abraham and his heirs, subject to the said annuity."

*The Weald of Kent.* Although Canterbury was the centre point of immigration and foreign settlement, it would be impossible to pass over this portion of the county, which, from the industrial occupations it afforded, gave employment to many, and among them several of refugee descent. The natural resources of the Weald were plentiful; timber abounded; the fuller's earth was found of great value in the dressing of cloth; the streams of the Medway and Rother aided in the transport of material, and floated the products of many hands to distant lands.

At Hawkhurst, iron-smelting was once carried on, and the names of Furnace Field and Furnace Mill, in that district, attest to these industries. Many a hand-iron and chimney-back can be traced to Wealden industry and skill. So prosperous was the iron trade in Elizabeth's reign that the Spaniards armed their ships and fought with guns of our own manufacture! The cloth trade also flourished, specially at Cranbrook, where, to this day, the mills once busy with the sound of the loom are now silent, but quaintly striking with their picturesque half-timbered houses.

We read that this place collected the sum of £29 10s. 4*d.* (in 1689, 1690) in aid of the Protestant exiles, and that Sir Thomas Roberts, a family of note, gave much money and showed great sympathy in the cause. The Kentish rising in the Weald in 1642 brings before us some names associated with my subject. Mr. L'Estrange, of a Norfolk family, headed the rebellion at Aylesford, near Maidstone, and some of the insurgents took refuge in the house of Sir Peter Ricaut. The greater number, however, of foreign refugees found their way to Rye and on the Sussex border; and in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. xiii, is an exhaustive paper by Mr. Durant Cooper, entitled "Protestant Refugees in Sussex."

*Sandwich.* This well-known ancient Cinque Port received many refugees, chiefly Walloons, in the reign of Elizabeth. It is difficult to identify any special building or church which was set apart for the use of the refugees



here, and it is probable that they used one of the parish churches. That there was French service in this town, appears pretty evident from the discovery noticed by Burn in his *History of Foreign Refugees* (1846) of an old book of receipts and disbursements belonging to "l'Eglise de Sandenuyt Françoise", beginning in 1568 and ending 1570. Among a long list of contributors is that of Des Borweryes, evidently some of the family who settled here and at Canterbury.

The Dutch congregation at Sandwich is an acknowledged fact, and Queen Elizabeth granted them liberty to exercise their manufactures; they used the church of St. Clement's in that town.

On Archbishop Parker's visit here in 1563, he took notice of the "French and Dutch", or both, and further says "profitable and gentle strangers ought to be welcome and not to be grudged at". Strype's *Life of Parker*.

The Domestic Papers, James I, 1622, give a return of some 150 names of those in the town and port of Sandwich; their trades and professions were making of "bayes, linsie wooolsies, gardiners, taylors, whitesmiths", etc. Family names, altered from foreign nomenclature, exist here, and authenticate the residence of Walloons and French; thus we have Bargrave, which was probably Burgrave, Cowper, De Cowper, Dale, Van Dale, Long, De Long, Sayer, Soyer, and many others.

The name of Captain John Verrier, once mayor, who died in 1686, and the Verrier family, evidently point to the foreign settlement, as do the Rondeaus, merchants in the eighteenth century, also at Canterbury.

It may be presumed that the foreigners used one of the many English churches in this town. In 1713 we read of one Gerard de Gols, who was rector of St. Peter's, Sandwich, also minister of the Dutch congregation, author of several works; he died February 22nd, 1713.

The foreign residents here were allowed the use of St. Clement's Church, on payment of 40s. per annum, and afterwards on paying a third of all repairs. During Archbishop Laud's primacy, 1634, occurred the appeal of the ministers of the Dutch churches at Sandwich and Maidstone against the demands of the Archbishop to their conforming to the English Liturgy and Church government.



The Scotch wars interrupted the matter, but at the time the subject was warmly taken up, and John Bulteel, minister of the Walloon church at Canterbury, published in 1645 a pamphlet, *The Troubles of the Three Foreign Churches in Kent*.

*Hythe.* Of this, another Cinque Port, some references occur regarding the foreign settlements. The Domestic Papers (Record Office), James I, give a list of Walloons here; they were few in number, and would probably resort to Dover for their services, as will be noticed hereafter. Connected with Hythe are names of noted foreign descent; I may select as a typical example that of Jacob Desbouverie, who represented this place in 1695, and his descendant W. de Bouverie in 1714. The family also are to be found at Sandwich. That of Huguessen, a noble family, now represented by Lord Brabourne, also claims notice. In Saltwood Church, near Hythe, is a monument to one Tournay, Mayor of Hythe, who died 1712.

Philip Boteler was member of Parliament for Hythe in 1690, also in 1695, and John Boteler in 1700, 1701, 1702, 1708, 1713.

*Faversham.* Towards the middle of the county, at Maidstone and Faversham, etc., foreign names have associated themselves with English; and at Faversham that of Giraud holds an honourable part in refugee annals, as having settled there; some of the family have held the mastership of the grammar school. There was a French church here, but few particulars thereof. By the register of the Hungerford Market chapel (one of the French churches in London), it appears Monsieur Géby was minister in 1696, and the Lambeth MS. No. 941 records that M. Raoul was minister in 1706.

The paper manufacture, long identified with Kent, at Maidstone, and along the river Darent, received a fresh impetus from the refugee arrivals after 1685, and thus is their connection with this county and its occupations confirmed and established.

*Dover.* A varied and important interest attaches to the history of our subject as regards this ancient town, for the constant migration to and fro must have been considerable; most, however, of the refugees passed on to Canterbury, Maidstone, Norwich, or London, for there

seems no mention of any special trade encouraged in this maritime place. Early in the seventeenth century, says Smiles, a census was taken of the foreigners residing at Dover, when it was found there were seventy-eight persons, "which of late came out of France, by reason of the troubles there." The State Papers give most interesting extracts as to the frequent arrivals of refugee Protestants, whereof I notice the following.

STATE PAPERS, 1619, 23.—DOMESTIC, JAMES I.

*June 4, Dover. John Reading to Lord Zouch.*—"On account of troubles in France, French Protestants daily land at Dover; and some ministers having arrived, they desire the use of the church on certain days for divine worship. Requests Lord Zouch to apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant their request. The flight of Protestants is likely to be greater, they being forbidden to emigrate on pain of death."

1621, *Oct. 29, Dover. John Reading to Lord Zouch.*—"The people of Dover being already much charged with relieving the French Protestants who have come over, are unable to contribute largely to the collection, unless from it they may receive some relief for the French in the town. Encloses Return by the French refugees at Dover, on a request made by Mr. Reading, minister of St. Mary's, by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of their numbers, viz., 165 communicants, 105 non-communicants; of whom 85 are poor, and receive alms; also of 187 poor French passing through the town, who have received 258 shillings in alms. Oct. 26, 1621."

*July 9, Dover, 1621. Sir H. Mainwaring to Lord Zouch.*—"There are 100 French Protestants in Dover who support themselves, and have service three times a week in St. Mary's Church."

In 1622 occurs an entry in the State Papers, James I: "To examine John Ardu, a French friar, who professes to wish to conform, and attends the French church at Dover." It appears the congregation was formed in 1646, and one Philippe Le Keux is stated to be minister; he was afterwards at Canterbury. In 1634 one Etienne Payen was pastor, and in 1719 "Jean Campredon" filled that office. It is believed that service was granted them in St. Mary's Church in this town. The registers of the refugees are in good condition, and are in the keeping of the Vicar of St. Mary's, Canon Puckle.

One T. Tournay was rector of Hougham in 1762, and of St. James's, Dover, in 1755, a name which certainly indicates foreign descent. We find David Campredon,

who died in 1731, rector of Charlton, near Dover, in 1700; he was related to Jean Campredon, minister of the French church, in that town.

Hasted says, in 1572 there was a Dutch church in Dover, but does not identify the locality; in all probability it merged into the congregation of Friends or Quakers, who were once numerous there.

Names of foreign origin greatly prevail in the neighbouring parishes, showing there must have been settlement, or, in many cases, intermarriage with the refugee families. Thus, at East Langdon, in 1772, we find one John Queteville, rector, at Little Mongham; Clement Le Conteur, who died 1714, at Whitfield; Thomas Delanoy, vicar, in 1784; and William Tournay, vicar, in 1788-1792.

The transition of names of foreign origin to English nomenclature is much to be observed in this eastern part of Kent, and affords study for the etymologist and antiquary. One family of note is that of the Papillons, from Avranches in Normandy; different members have represented Dover in Parliament. Sir Edward Boys, Lieutenant of the Castle in the time of Cromwell, was also a member for this borough.

In the bequeathal of property we often find a clue to family lineage; and in this particular may be mentioned, as of Dover, that one M. Fector was possessed of much landed property, dispersed in different parishes in this part of the county, and was a very considerable banker and merchant of Dover. His mother was the daughter of M. Minet, who, with his five brothers and three sisters, came over from France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, having sacrificed their situation and property in that country for their attachment to their religion. Mr. Fector married, in 1750, Mary, eldest daughter of John Minet, M.A., Rector of Eythorpe.

In the change of name we often recognise a foreign source: thus Mommerie has become Mummery, a family locally known in Dover; and there are other examples of this transition.

Though several of these refugee descendants are no more, or have become associated with our own countrymen, we are glad to have preserved in England documents

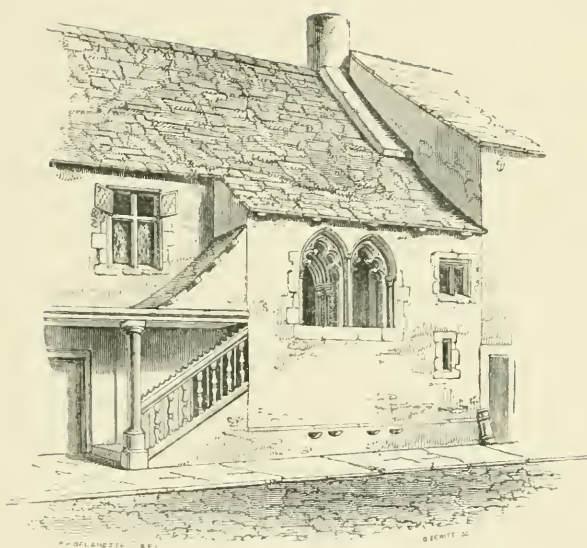
and papers that throw much light on their history. At Somerset House, in the Registrar's Office, are to be found the Registers of the dissolved French churches both in London and the provinces. In the British Museum are other memorials. The Libraries of the Guildhall and Sion College afford information as to several of their ministers, and whence they came. The Archiepiscopal collection at Lambeth Palace is replete with historical letters following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; while at the fountain-head, as it were, of refugee history, the French Hospice in Victoria Park has an increasing and valuable library of Huguenot books, pamphlets, and prints. At Canterbury, Dover, Southampton, and other parts, where the foreigners landed and settled, are to be found these annals of a people whom we have welcomed to our shores, who introduced many industrial arts, who claim oftentimes noble descent, who were men of science and learning, and above all held firmly that Protestant faith for which they long suffered, and for which they have become so famous in history.

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## Obituary.

MR. W. BRAGGE.

WE regret to record the death, on Friday the 6th of June, of our life-member, Mr. WILLIAM BRAGGE, F.S.A., of Sheffield, and later of Birmingham. His collection of select MSS., gathered together during his numerous travels, and dispersed not long ago ; his collection of the tobacco-pipes of all nations, many of which have passed into the possession of the British Museum authorities ; and his almost complete collection of the editions of Cervantes' works, and commentaries upon them, presented to the Birmingham Reference Library, all three of which are well known to antiquaries, bear witness to Mr. Bragge's archæological and literary tastes, which he found time to cultivate while actively engaged in numerous engineering operations of considerable magnitude. These collections were visited by the British Archæological Association at the Sheffield Congress in 1873, and greatly appreciated.



TOIHOUSE, GREAT YARMOUTH.





## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Tolhouse at Great Yarmouth*, of which we are enabled, by the kindness of Mr. J. Buckle, to give an illustration, was visited by the Association during its recent Congress in that town; and much interest arose for the preservation of the building, parts of which are as old as the thirteenth century, when it became known that a proposition for its destruction was likely to be carried out. This resulted in the rescinding of the order for demolition, and the ancient building is now vested in the Mayor and other public personages of the town, who are endeavouring to raise funds for its preservation and reparation, with a view to utilising the structure (probably as a Museum) for the benefit of the inhabitants.

With this end in view, Mr. Fred. Danby Palmer has just issued a concise and well written historical and architectural notice of the edifice (published by J. Buckle, King Street, Great Yarmouth; large paper, 2s. 6d., or 8vo., 6d.), in which the reader will find a considerable amount of instructive and curious antiquarian information respecting the Tolhouse and its fortunes as a Reception Hall for the Barons of the Cinque Ports, a Court House, an Assembly Room for the Corporation, and a Gaol. One of its peculiarities is that the main entrance is by an open, external staircase leading to the first floor; another is the two-light, cinquefoiled window or arcade, never glazed, and probably designed for the purpose of addressing an assembly gathered below. Both these are shown in the accompanying Plate. We trust that sufficient subscriptions for the proposed repairs will be obtained, and are glad to draw the attention of our readers to this good work.

*The Marriage, Baptismal, and Burial Registers (1571-1874), and Monumental Inscriptions, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London; with a Short Account of the Strangers and their Churches.* Edited by WILLIAM JOHN CHARLES MOENS. Lympington, 1884.—Much attention has been given of late years to the Registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London, which was founded by letters patent of King Edward VI, dated 1550. These Registers, which are complete from 1571, contain very many entries concerning the numerous families in this country descended from the religious refugees from the Netherlands, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which may be sought for in vain elsewhere.

The time of the troubles in the Low Countries is a dark period, most difficult to break through in constructing a genealogy. Scores of thou-

sands then fled from Holland and Belgium. Very many of these refugees found shelter in England, and nearly all of those settling in and around London became members of the Dutch Church. Members of these families were baptised and married at the Austin Friars Church. Many returned to Protestant Holland when the times became quieter; but many in the second and third generations married into English families. These Registers, containing over 12,000 entries, become, therefore, of the greatest importance to Dutch and Belgian genealogists as well as those in this country and America.

Ample facilities having been afforded by the courtesy of the Rev. A. D. Adama van Scheltema, the present minister of the church, the entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials have, as a labour of love, been copied and arranged in an alphabetical form, which is very convenient for reference.

The work would have been incomplete without the numerous monumental inscriptions found in the church of those buried there since 1675. These had already been copied, and rubbings of the armories taken by J. J. Howard, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., and Robert Hovenden, Esq., who in the most liberal and kind manner possible handed over their laborious work to be included with the above. The armories on some sixty-three to sixty-five stones are given. These have been reduced and engraved on wood specially for this publication.

His Majesty William III, King of the Netherlands, has been graciously pleased to accept the dedication of the volume.

A short history of the Dutch churches in this country, with that of the Strangers, is given in the Preface. The manuscript history of the Rev. Simeon Ruytinck, who was minister of the church from 1601 to his death in 1621, has been drawn on for this purpose, together with the archives of the church, the domestic series of State Papers in the Public Record Office, and other sources.

The work will be issued at an early date, bound in cloth, at 15s. a copy to subscribers, to cover the expense of printing, etc.

*Archæology in the Orkneys.*—A discovery of importance has been made lately near the Loch of Stennes, Orkney, in the district containing the circle of standing stones. A large mound has been opened by Mr. Clouston of Sandwick Manse, and found to contain a chamber about 7 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 feet in height, containing in each corner of the room a skeleton. The chamber was reached by a passage 12 ft. long, 3 ft. broad, and 3 ft. high. Some very large stones are in the building. The mound is not yet completely explored.

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# THE JOURNAL

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### ON ANCIENT ETRURIA AND A TOMB AT PALESTRINA.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read 2nd April 1879.)

THE traveller in quest of the sculptured tomb lately discovered on or near the site of the ancient Præneste may proceed from Rome along the track of the Via Prænestina, and at the ninth milestone from the city cross a rivulet which flows into the Anio, over a bridge built by the ancient Romans. He may indulge in many a speculative theory upon early Roman history as he passes up the beautiful country once occupied by the Æqui and Hernici, revolving in his mind the many facts which have been discovered and brought to bear upon it since the publication of Niebuhr's *History* in 1811-12, and Dr. Arnold's in 1838 and 1840, and even since *The Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History* by the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis in 1855, and the learned Professors of the last twenty-five years, whose name is legion, having warmly taken up the subject.

I will not trouble you with theories ; but what I shall say of the history of the early races shall be confined to the opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who went to Rome in B.C. 29, and remained there twenty-two years, for the purpose of making researches into the origin of the Roman nation ; and Niebuhr truly says of him that "the longer and more carefully his work is examined, the more must true criticism acknowledge that it is deserving of all respect, and the more will it be found a store-

house of most solid information."<sup>1</sup> He had the benefit of the antiquarian writings of Q. Fabius Pictor, who served in the Gallic wars in B.C. 225; and of L. Cincius Alimetus, who was probably born about B.C. 250; and of Cato, who published his *Origines* about B.C. 170, besides being in personal communication with the first literary men of the Augustan age at Rome.

After crossing the *Pons-ad-Nonum*, still called Pontenono, the heights of Alba will be seen in the distance, on the right from whence Juno, in the *Æneid*,<sup>2</sup> is made to look down upon the plain where the war was waging between Turnus on the one side, and Latinus, with the allied hosts of Trojans, on the other.

At the twelfth milestone from the city is Gabii, half way to Præneste, a Latin town planted by a colony from Alba. Deserted in the time of Augustus, Gabii had been a place of much importance when Romulus and Remus were sent there to learn Greek. Far away on the left is the high ground of Tibur (Tivoli) and Æsolæ; and eleven miles beyond Gabii rises up on a spur of the Apennines, at an altitude of 1,200 feet above the plain, the citadel of Præneste. The steep surmounted by its mural crown, and not unlike Mycenæ, was well named Stephania in the earliest times. At the foot of the hill the new town grew up, at a later period, which became celebrated for the great Temple of Fortune. The lots of Præneste, preserved in this Temple, were a relic of an old religion which came from Dodona in Epirus, the sanctuary and oracle of Jupiter of the Pelasgians,—that ancient people about whom, said Niebuhr, "so much nonsense has been written." Thessaly was called Pelasgian by Homer;<sup>3</sup> Cære, under the name of Agylla, was always considered a Pelasgian city. So it seems that the nation was spread from the Hellespont on the east, through Greece, as far as Italy on the west.

The wide rule of this race, and its amalgamation with different nations, give some reason to suppose that it may have been a fraternity banded together to extend and maintain some special religious or social system; and "it is a law of nature common to all ages, that a superior race obtains command over an inferior."<sup>4</sup> A comparatively

<sup>1</sup> *Lect.*, vol. i, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> xii, v, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.*, ii.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Hal., i.



small number may thus come to rule over populous communities. These people, who invaded Italy on the north, became amalgamated with the Umbri, who occupied the high ground of the Apennines; and absorbing also other tribes of the aborigines, succeeded in expelling the Siculi or Sikels, who are recorded as occupying Italy in the earliest times. The aborigines dwelling in the fastnesses of the mountains, without walls, or wandering as shepherds over the plains, when compacted with the Pelasgians, built many cities, and made their laws respected through all the country between the Liris and the Tiber; the two cities at the mouths of these rivers, Minturnæ and Ostia, becoming afterwards Roman colonies. The people of this district began to be called Latini about the time of the Trojan war; to become afterwards *gens maxima ex minima*. Thucydides says it was the Opici who drove out the Sikels; but Opici and Volsci are from the same root. The children of Ops, or the Earth, are in fact synonymous with the aborigines. The Sabines, afterwards Samnites, seem to represent the aborigines at a later period, and when incorporated with the Latini became the invincible Roman race.

The origin of the Tyrrhenians or Tyrseni, or Ra-Senna, who were formed into the Etruscan nation by amalgamation with the Pelasgian and Umbrian inhabitants of Etruria, was a mystery to Dionysius, who calls them autochthonous, because he could not discover whence they had originally come. He denies their eastern origin, whilst Herodotus brings them from Lydia, who has been followed by Timæus and a long line of writers, Greek and Latin. The Etruscans dated the foundation of their empire in Italy four centuries before the building of Rome, which would carry it back to about the time of the Trojan war. If the twenty books of Tyrrhenian history, written by the Emperor Claudius (Suetonius *in vitâ*) had not been lost, we should have known more of this nation. As it is, from the relics found in their tombs, and the paintings on the walls, we are able to trace an Egyptian origin to their civilisation, with not infrequent touches of Assyrian art in their treatment of the scenes of life. The sacerdotal character of their rulers and hieratic language can hardly be doubted from internal evi-

dence; and there is external evidence brought to light by modern science, of a connection with Egypt or Libya at an early known period. The inscription of Karnak furnishes an account of a combination of Sardinians, Sikels, Etruscans, Lycians, and Achæans, headed by Marmæon, King of Libya, against Manepthath, King of Egypt, at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. This would be a little before the period of the Trojan war. They encamped on the western frontier of Egypt, in the plains of Pa-ari-sheps, "and the King became furious as a lion".<sup>1</sup>

We must recollect that Libya proper lies next to Egypt, and opposite, as it were, to Greece, while the Cyrenaica, westward again of Libya, is opposite to the Italian peninsula. Libya was the land of Poseidon or Neptune, the primeval abode of the Cyclopes and Phæacians.

The subject of most interest to rude nations was their subsistence from day to day; that is, the food they were to eat, and the dangers from which they were to be delivered. In Europe flocks of sheep were their wealth, and the introduction of the ox was an event about which there seems to have been so great a difference of opinion that the question came to wear a religious aspect. The most ancient Jupiter of Egypt was Ammon, who wielded, not the thunderbolt, but was represented with the head and horns of a ram. In Greece, the fable of Io changed by Jupiter into a heifer, and sent roaming along the coasts of Argolis and Ionia down to Egypt, may have reference to this event, though couched in the form of a fable in keeping with the piratical habits of the traders and ship-captains of the time. Jupiter, in the form of a bull, brought Europa across the Hellespont out of Asia. Juno herself was represented with the head of a cow, according to Dr. Schliemann, at Mycenæ, which may be some evidence of the Egyptian origin of the Argive Juno. The Argive influences of which Dionysius Halicarnassensis speaks may account for the plains and pastures of Latium being filled with horned cattle,—a circumstance which gave Italy its name from an old Greek word, *ἰταλός*,<sup>2</sup> an

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes sur l'Antiq. Hist.*, par F. Chabas.

<sup>2</sup> Still preserved, with the digamma, in the Latin word *vitulus*, a calf.

ox, on the authority of Timæus and M. Varro, quoted by Gellius (xi, 1), who thinks this is confirmed by the fact that the heaviest fine inflicted under an old law was the delivery every day of two sheep and thirty oxen, thereby showing how much more numerous the latter were than the former.

The introduction of the ox was a mark of progress equally with the extinction of wild animals; and the power used by man over these latter was assumed as something divine. The Kings of Assyria honoured the bull with a human head, and were seen handling lions and other wild animals as if they had been tame cats. The vases of Etruria are full of wild animals destroying the tame and defenceless. The bull is introduced very often, and the goat anciently bred is transformed, in later times, into a Chimæra, his goat's head issuing out of the back of a lion; and the monster is annihilated by Bellerophon, who, perhaps, dealt himself in horses and cattle. The Tauric Bacchus (that is, the human-headed god with the body and horns of a bull) is peculiar to Etruria, and is referred to hereafter.

The capital of Etruria was the Fanum Volumniæ, or the shrine of the great goddess who represented the fruits of the earth; and Vertumnus, a cognate god, may be taken as the Bacchus of the Etruscans. The site of this shrine has been fixed at the modern Viterbo; but Mr. Dennis<sup>1</sup> gives good reasons for supposing it was on the eminence called Monte Fiascone, which rises in the centre of the plain, and meets the eye from the remotest corner. From this centre radiated the edicts of a powerful administration throughout the tribes and twelve confederate cities of which the state was composed. To this spot flocked the merchants who brought both wealth and information from the outer world, and supplied the sinews of war.<sup>2</sup>

Porsenna, in B.C. 509, almost endangered the independence of Rome; but the first great check the nation received, of which we have evidence, was when, defeated by Hiero of Syracuse, the Greeks of Cumæ and Southern Italy were delivered from the Tyrrhenian yoke. A dedi-

<sup>1</sup> *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. London, 1879. 2 vols.

<sup>2</sup> T. Liv., vi, 2.

cation helmet<sup>1</sup> in the British Museum bears an inscription commemorative of this event in B.C. 474. After this time Etruscan political influence declined, whilst the Roman state continued to encroach upon Tuscany. Tarquini, Veii, and Cære, were the three cities which came at the earliest period into contact with the Romans; and the ten years' siege of Veii may almost rival in stirring incident that of the *Iliad* itself.

The reign of Æneas at Lavinium (Pratica), and of his son Ascanius and successors, as Kings of Alba Longa,<sup>2</sup> must be looked upon as of doubtful historical truth, though as we are without the means of disproving Livy's early history altogether, it can only be accepted with reserve. As to the succeeding annals of Rome, if we agree with Niebuhr that the reigns of Romulus and Numa at Rome are purely fabulous and poetical, and the period from Tullus Hostilius to the first secession of the *plebs* as mythico-historical, or compounded of truth and fiction, yet the warrior Romulus (qu., α' *Ρώμη*?) and the priestly Numa may represent the sovereignty of a warlike nation, under a strong leader, struggling for independence; and then, in succession, the return to power of

<sup>1</sup> Described by the Palæographic Society's Editors as a "dedication inscribed upon an Etruscan helmet by Hiero I, King of Syracuse, after his naval victory over the Tyrrhenians at Cumæ, B.C. 474. The helmet was found at Olympia, where it must have formed part of the trophy dedicated by Hiero. The inscription has a peculiar value as one of the earliest specimens of Greek palæography to which an exact date can be given. It reads as follows:

“ἱερὸν ὁ δεινόμενος  
καὶ τοὶ συρακοσίοι  
τοὶ δὲ τυραν ἀπο κύμας”

(“Ἱέρων ὁ Δεινόμενος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι τῷ Διὶ Τυρρῶν ἀπὸ κύμας).

“The alphabet which is here used, though originally brought from Corinth (the mother city of Syracuse) has lost the characteristic forms of Epsilon and Iota, and the M of the old Corinthian alphabet noticed above, besides having modified other letters. The ancient H as an aspirate is, however, still retained; and the Rho has a tail-stroke. The cross-stroke of T, at the beginning of the third line, is slightly imperfect in the original, and appears as Γ in the Plate. In two instances also the cross-stroke of A is reproduced very faintly.” (First Series, Plate 77B.)

<sup>2</sup> T. Liv., vii, 15.







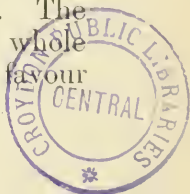


the Etruscan hierarchy in Numa Pompilius. At the coronation of Numa an augur conducted him to the Capitoline mount, and seated the new king upon a stone; then turning to the east (that is, having the south on his right hand, and the north on his left hand), and with head covered, he finds some imaginary place in the heavens by means of his *lituus*, and addressing a prayer to Jupiter, he is informed by unmistakable signs from heaven that the new king is approved to rule over the Romans. This is very Etruscan.

Tarquinius (*Corneto*), founded, as was said, by Tarchon, one of the descendants of Hercules and Omphale, who ruled at Rome, furnished a line of Etruscan sovereigns till the kingly title of the last of the Tarquins was abolished for a more popular form of government. The first of the Tarquins was born at Tarquinii, and derived from this then flourishing city his name, and from his father, Demeratus, his great wealth. Demeratus was a notable instance of those rich merchants who helped to accumulate the precious metals, and constitute them the representatives of value.

In reference to the metallurgy of the heroic age, a writer in *The Builder*, 17 Feb. 1877, has this trite observation, that "art in Greece, as elsewhere, was not a creation but a growth. For how many centuries the goldsmiths, the silversmiths, and the bronzesmiths of Greece toiled before they arrived at the skill which modelled the masks of the Atridæ, the head of the Aphrodite, or the exquisite little Neptune from Epirus, we are yet unaware. That man must be more positive than wise who could add, we can never know."

Skilled workmen came from Corinth with this Demeratus, who had made a large fortune by trading to the cities of Etruria in his own ship, and transporting back from thence Etruscan merchandize into Greece. He thus came to have many and valuable connections in Etruria; and as the government of his country was somewhat unsettled, he took up his abode at Tarquinii, where he built himself a house, and educated his two sons, Aruns and Lucumo, in the learning of his adopted country. The elder brother died, and Lucumo, inheriting the whole property, went to Rome, was admitted into high favour



with the King, Ancus Martius, and became his successor, under the name of Lucius Tarquinius. I reproduce this well known episode of Roman history because it is usually assigned as a reason and a date for the introduction of Greek art into Etruria in the middle of the sixth century B.C., whilst in the earliest times the civilisation of Egypt seems to have been communicated directly from Libya and Cyrene, and that of Assyria through the traders of Tyre and Sidon.

Let us now see how this history is borne out by the archæological remains found in the Etruscan tombs, and especially in that discovered at Palestrina in 1876.

We have already had a tomb at Cervetri, the ancient Cære, described and illustrated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in our *Journal* (vol. xii), and to which I would refer you. He seems to concur with Strabo that there was much of the Egyptian style about the monuments, with some remarkable characteristics of Eastern civilisation, such as the Sphinx with recurved wings, and a coffin at Chiusi, supported on two kneeling, human-headed bulls. Yet with these indications of foreign and imported civilisation, we must allow to the Etruscans a language and polity of their own, differing in many respects from any other.

Sir G. Wilkinson having given an account of the various kinds of sepulchres and modes of interment, it only remains for me to speak of something since discovered, and to refer in a few words to the painted tombs and the objects contained in them, before describing in detail the tomb at Palestrina; and as their dates extend over a period of many centuries, I will take the chronological arrangement of Mr. Dennis, whose account of these tombs is very full and complete.

The painted tombs are found chiefly at Tarquinii (*Corneto*) and Clusium (*Chiusi*). Two have been found in each of the towns of Cære (*Cervetri*), Vulci, and Orvieto, and a solitary one at Veii, Bomarzo, and Vetulonia; and they show Etruscan art from its infancy, some of the tombs being coeval with the foundation of Rome, and others as late as the Empire. Mr. Dennis considers the Campana tomb at Veii the most ancient yet discovered; and the painting on its walls, in three colours, black, red,

and yellow, the oldest in Italy and Europe. In an early tomb at Chiusi, and in another of later date at Bomarzo, the colouring is bichromatic black and red. Next in antiquity Mr. Dennis places the painted tiles discovered at Cervetri, in four colours, which are burnt in.

On the Montarozzi, near Corneto (the ancient Tarquinii), a necropolis extending over several miles has yielded a large number of the painted tombs, of which Mr. Dennis has described nineteen, now open, and which can be visited. Among these he considers the following as the most ancient, and of purely Etruscan art, without any traces of Hellenic influence :

Camera del Muerto (Chamber of the Dead Man), discovered in 1832.

Grotta dei Vasi Dipanti (Tomb of the Painted Vases), discovered in 1864.

Grotta del Moribondo (Tomb of the Dying Man), discovered in 1872.

Grotta delle Iscrizione (Tomb of the Inscriptions), discovered in 1827.

Grotta del Barone, or Del Ministro, discovered in 1827.

In the second category, or Græco-Etruscan, Mr. Dennis places the following :

Grotta Querciola (the name of the owner of the ground), discovered in 1831. It is larger and loftier than any other sepulchre in this metropolis, being about 18 feet square, and the walls quite covered with paintings in red, yellow, blue, grey, black, and white.

Grotta del Letto Funebre (Tomb of the Funeral Bier), discovered in 1873.

Grotta del Triclinio (Tomb of the Triclinium), discovered in 1830.

Grotta Francesca. So called from a young lady who was present at its opening in 1833.

Grotta delle Bighe (Tomb of the Chariots), discovered in 1827. Mr. Dennis considers the figures in the lower frieze earlier than the upper.

Grotta della Scrofa Nera (Tomb of the Black Sow), discovered by Mr. Dennis.

Grotta del Citaredo (Tomb of the Lyrist), discovered in 1862.

The following are assigned to the Romano-Etruscan period :

Grotta del Tifone, or Dei Pompei (Tomb of the Typhon or of the Pompeys), discovered in 1832.

Grotta degli Scudi (Tomb of the Shields), discovered in 1870.

Grotta del Cardinale (Tomb of the Cardinal), the earliest discovered of the painted tombs of Tarquinii. First in 1699, re-opened in 1738, again in 1760, and finally in 1780. The painting may be as late as the second century B.C., according to Mr. Dennis.

Grotta del Orco, discovered in 1868.

Grotta del Vecchio (Tomb of the Old Man), discovered in 1864.

Micali, in his *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, has given one hundred and twenty illustrations of Etruscan archaeology, which I produce; and I will make reference to some of these because they mark the chronology by showing the progress of foreign influences. On Plate XLII are elevations and ground-plans of various tombs, figure 1 being the base of the conical mound of 200 feet diameter, and which is still 40 or 50 feet high, called the "Cucumella", near Vulci.

Paintings from four tombs, which represent Etruscan life and religion, I will take in the chronological order before referred to. Plate LXVII, from the Grotta del Barone and the Grotta delle Iscrizione, at Corneto (Tarquinii). The figures are very archaic. A bearded man offers a *kylix* to a female figure, apparently a goddess, who with arms raised seems to reject the gift. A boy playing the double tibia, accompanies the man. On each side of this group is a man on horseback, with whip in hand, and they seem preparing for the race, while the chaplets of victory are suspended in the air. The scene is decorated with trees. Above are dolphins and fish. The other view on same Plate is from the Grotta delle Iscrizione, and the subjects are games and dances. A false door is painted in the centre, and on the right are three figures joining in the Bacchic dance; the centre one, a *Subulo*, playing the tibia; while on the left of the door are two figures on horseback, the first of whom seems to be winning the race, and the naked man on foot may be the umpire. Other figures follow round the side of the chamber; and the same on the other side, where



many other figures make up the *thiasos* of the god before referred to. The Bacchic festivals, in the earliest times of their introduction, had a deep religious significance which was nearly lost afterwards in the coarse scenes of debauchery which disgraced the Bacchanalia in Roman times. Mr. Dennis remarks that the paintings in this tomb are more quaint and archaic than any others in this necropolis, and bear a close affinity in design and colouring to those in the Grotta Campana at Veii.

Plate LXVIII.—An excellent representation from the Grotta delle Bighe, of a funeral feast, where the guests recline on couches. They wear crowns on their heads, and are appropriately clothed. The director of the gymnasts stands near the table with staff in hand. A flute-player is also there; and above are seen many figures of gymnasts and pugilists going through their performances before spectators who are seated on each side; and on another side of the chamber is a *biga* race, horse races, and other sports, with the seated spectators looking on as before. These are of a good school of Etruscan art, and Mr. Dennis attributes them to a later date than any at Tarquinii, excepting the Oreus, the Typhon, and the Cardinal.

Plates LXIX and LXX represent a tomb (De Dei) about two miles from Chiusi, cut in the tufa, as are all the others in that neighbourhood. It contains three chambers. The banquets, the games, and the chariot races are drawn with much spirit. In one chamber is seen a hideous Gorgon's face with tongue hanging out, figured on Plate CII, fig. 4, and not unlike the grim faces on the gargoyles of Gothic architecture.

I will now say a few words about the ceramic ware, which is quite as valuable as the wall-paintings as an index to dates. Clusium (Chiusi), the ancient capital of Porsenna and Tarquinii (Corneto), the birth-place of the Tarquins, has yielded the most ancient types. Brown clay, roughly made, unbaked, and without glaze or ornament, except a few lines or scratches, betokens an early stage of civilisation. Then an improvement upon this is the black ware, plain and unbaked, and sometimes having figures of gods and scenes of life and animals of very archaic character, moulded or stamped upon the surface

when moist. These can be seen on Micali's Plates XVIII, XIX, XX; *amphoræ* of this black ware on Plate XXV, figs. 2, 3; *olpæ* with cock-crowned lids, Plate XXV, fig. 1.

On Plate XIV are figured two Canopus vases of reddish clay, and two of black, unbaked clay, all found at Chiusi. The covers of the vases, in the form of human heads, are fastened on, as in the case of the largest of the four, by bronze pins. Such vases in Egypt were used for containing those portions of the body which were taken out before embalming.

Plates XV and XVI are other heads used as covers for similar vases.

Also in the black ware are those curious stands upon which are placed utensils of various kinds, as shown on Plates XXVI and XXVII. The Italians call these stands *focolari*. Some think they were kitchen-apparatus, or to hold articles for the toilet, while others consider them manufactured for the tombs alone, though probably fac-similes of the objects in use.

We may see the original of our beakers in the *bombylios*, Plate XXVII, fig. 6.

The painted vases follow the development of the Grecian, and become more and more Hellenic as we descend to later times. These should be studied, for the chronology, in the rich collection in the British Museum, and in Dr. Birch's *History of Ancient Pottery*, and the full account of Etruscan vases, with their Greek names, in Mr. Dennis' new edition of *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.

Not many painted vases have been found at Chiusi or Corneto; but Vulci and Cervetri have yielded a number almost incredible. Some good types of the archaic style are given on Micali's Plates LXXIV, and LXXXI-LXXXV. Near Chiusi, however, was found the famous Francois Vase, the largest painted amphora in Etruria, which is now in the Museum at Florence. Some of the more perfect forms of ceramic ware are shown on Plate XCIX.

There are some sculptured works which illustrate Etruscan customs, and beliefs, and dress, as on Plate LI is a warrior with long hair, a spear in his right hand, and in his left a lotus-flower, on which is perched a bird; mystic signs these of the resurrection or regeneration of the soul, and of the highest antiquity. This slab was found at

Fiesole ; and another, with similar figure, having a spear and sword, in the Museum of Volterra, is also very ancient. The third on the same Plate has on a Grecian helmet, and holds two spears. This may be presumed to be of more recent date. The four sides of a square altar are shown on Plates LIII, LIV, and LV, choral bands, religious processions, and dances being carved in relief upon them.

On Plate LVI are figured the four sides of a funereal monument, on which are represented the deathbed of a female, with the family in sorrow standing around. A child is among the number, showing by signs the agony of grief. On the second side are five female figures expressing their sorrow by gesticulations. The figures on the third side seem to be five priests or augurs, one holding the *lituus*. The fourth scene is not so easily made out ; but a seated figure seems to be holding up what may be a parchment, perhaps the will of the deceased.

Another curious relic of funeral customs may be seen on Plate LVII, carved on the sides of a temple-shaped tomb at Vulci. A funeral car is drawn by some animal, and driven by an *auriga*, who sits in front. Behind him are six seated figures, probably the friends who accompany the corpse. The soul of the deceased, in the form of a bird, is perched upon the reins ; and a faithful dog accompanies the train, which is followed by the many figures veiled, and with dishevelled hair, whose duty it was to scream out, in strains of lamentation, the *nenia* to the sound of the tibia.

Another religious procession, on a slab from Chiusi, is given on Plate LVIII ; but perhaps the best delineation of a funeral procession is given on Plate XCVI, fig. 1, on a rare cup in the private museum of Prince Canino, the figures being painted in black, white, and violet colour. The funeral car is shown drawn by two mules. The corpse of a bearded man, in shroud, and face exposed, is laid upon it ; and two young people, perhaps a son and daughter of the deceased, are riding upon it. A female figure walks on one side of the car ; and behind it follows an old man in an attitude of grief, with a *pallium* thrown over his shoulders ; a *tibicen* with the double instrument comes next, and five soldiers follow armed with helmets,

round shields, and lances in right hand, with the points downwards. In front of the car are two *præfica* in attitude of grief. Fig. 4 shows a cup without handles, the figures painted in same colours as the preceding, which are remarkable as being armed with the club as well as bow. A good example of the Scythian bow, described as angular by Æschylus, is seen on a bronze plate in the Museum of Perugia. (Micali, Plate xxx.)

Etruria was famous for its bronzes from the earliest times down to the latest ; but I must refrain from reference to the many beautiful works which are contained in the Gregorian and Kircherian Museums, and in the Etruscan on the Capitol at Rome. My object has been only to point out evidences of early Etruscan history, and not to speak of the later vases, tombs, monuments, and ash-chests, of which so many good specimens are in the British Museum ; and I wish, by the other remains, to lead up to the remarkable tomb at Palestrina, which, though not in Etruria according to its restricted limits, was under Etruscan influence before the Greeks and Romans swallowed up or modified the earlier civilisation.

At the distance of 150 mètres from the Church of St. Roque, and near the Via di Santa Maria, the Messrs. Bernardini came upon a tomb, in the year 1876, resembling in the character of the objects found in it that known as the tomb of Regulini and Galassi, at Cære, described by Garucci in the *Archæologia*, xli, p. 200 ; and this new discovery has been written upon with all the exactness which modern science demands by M. W. Helbig in the *Bullettino* of the Archæological Society of Rome for the year 1876. The sepulchre is oblong in shape, but somewhat irregular ; the four sides correspond to the points of the compass. The walls are made of oblong slabs of tufa, the largest of which measures 0.91 mètre in length, 0.90 in height ; and where the wall is most perfect, it shows four courses of stone, one above the other. The northern and southern sides measure 18 ft. 2 ins. ; western side, 13 ft. ; eastern, 12 ft. 8 ins. A trench of 6 ft. 8 ins. long is cut parallel with the length of the tomb, and in the earth, but nearer to the southern than the northern side. In this appears to have been placed the body, as in the cists of our own country ; but upon a



bier, from the remains found of it; and richly dressed, having tripods placed, perhaps at the head and foot, and other objects around the remains, which will now be described; but from the oxydised state of the metal, the complete execution of the designs is not recognizable, and many are broken into small pieces which are not easily put together. This form of tombs, of which many others are known, denotes a high antiquity.

At **A** was found a highly decorated plate of gold, 7 ins. long by 4 ins. wide. The whole surface is covered with minute figures of perfect animals fastened upon it in order and in rows. The first row is formed of fifteen birds with human heads; the second of fourteen lions seated, with human heads springing from their backs. Then follow twelve lions on foot, then another twelve, half-seated. All these figures are placed in the direction of the wide side of the Plate. Four horses stand at the corners, in an opposite direction; that is, in the direction of the long sides of the Plate. The edge in front of the horses is bound with a fillet, which is terminated by the head of a lion. The ridge which divides the Plate into two parts, lengthways, is a little raised, and is surmounted by nine recumbent lions, from the backs of which springs another head, apparently that of a goat. The middle figure of this row has two lions' heads, which look in opposite directions. At the back of the Plate, down its length, are two parallel fillets or lines of gold, through which can be passed silver cords, of which vestiges remain, apparently to fasten it on to the dress; and on the narrow sides of the Plate, underneath, are two small cylinders which end in a human head. It is probable that this ornament was attached to the mitre or tiara rather than used as a pectoral, because, if placed on the breast, the figures would be in a horizontal position, and could not be seen; but carried on the head, and inclined back, and at a proper elevation, they would be seen to the best advantage.

At **B** were found three fibulæ, one  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins. long, of electrum; another of silver, but with some ornaments of gold upon it, 4 ins. long, of a type similar to that engraved in *Archæologia*, xli, Pl. VII, fig. 3. On the transverse bars of one are figures of winged Sphynxes; and on another



figures of lions with double human heads and human-headed birds.

Near the fibulæ, at **C**, were two maces, about 7 ins. long; and a portion of a third, consisting of tubes of bronze lined with wood, and covered with a plate of gold of pale colour, finished off with lines and beads. One of the maces is fixed to a band of silver, and round it, on all sides, are eleven figures of lions placed upon the said band. Attached to it also are fringes worked in silver thread.

At **D** were found four points of lances, in iron, and remains of the wood which formed the shaft; two daggers of iron in silver sheath. The one which wants a handle is 1 ft. long; the other, with handle encrusted with amber, is 17 ins. long, including the handle. The first mentioned is ornamented with figures in relief,—stags, horses, oxen, a Centaur with the fore-legs of a man and back of a horse (the oldest form known of this animal). A man on his back is defending himself from a lion who is attacking.

At **E** were many fragments of wood encrusted with bronze, among which are various pieces of heads of griffins and panthers, and the bronze shows signs of having been gilt. The eyes of the griffins are worked in enamel of a yellowish colour, and their bodies covered with scales.

At **F** were two singular objects of bronze, fused, and mixed with wood. They consist of two tubes, which are fastened together, and are finished on one side by the head of a panther, who seems to be devouring something. At the point of junction of the tubes is the figure of a panther; while the other tube ends in a lion, a panther, and some other animal not to be recognized.

Near the western end of the south wall, at **G G G**, were found the fragments of three shields worked in thin bronze plate, which apparently had been hung against the said wall. The stamped ornaments were of the well known geometrical patterns, and generally similar to those heretofore discovered at Palestrina,<sup>1</sup> except that on a fragment of one of them could be seen a row of human figures.

Near the shields, but a little nearer the centre of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Mon. del Institut.*, vol. viii, tav. xxvi.

## TOMB AT PALESTRINA (PRÆNESTE).

NORTH

18 ft. 2 ins.

**M** Wooden vessels with  
 bronze nails

Ceramic fragments covered with  
blue enamel

## Bronze vases

**F**  
Bronze fused, and  
mixed with wood

E  
Wood encrusted with bronze,  
griffins' heads, etc. 6 ft. 8 ins.

WEST  
13 ft.

**K**  
Silver vases, *simpulum*,  
*colum*, etc.

C  
Two maces, fri  
etc.  
Human bones

C  
aces, fringes,  
etc.

Golden plate A

Golden plate A

Golden plate A

EAST  
12 ft. 8 ins.

○ ○ ○

○ ○ ○

○ ○ ○

Bronze caldron  
Bronze figures, etc.

Bronze figures, etc.

6 ft. 8 ins.

工

Golden cup

D

Four points of lances  
Two daggers, etc.

Fragments of ivory  
scabbards, etc.

### Three shields

三

18 ft. 2 ins.

# SOUTH

1884

24

sepulchre, at H, was found a cup of pale gold (*electron*),  $3\frac{2}{3}$  ins. high; diameter, 4 ins., without the handles. This has no ornament but the Sphynxes with very short wings placed upon each of the handles.

In the angle formed by the south and west wall at I were found many fragments of ivory, tooled and ornamented in a style very like the Egyptian. One seems to have formed part of the scabbard of a dagger or knife; and on it, in high relief, is figured a large boat and a rower standing up at the prow, another at the stern. Besides which rowers are the following four figures: a beardless man in short tunic, and three women, all of whom are dressed in tunics with girdles and mantles.

Along the western wall were found many vases of silver and bronze, though the exact position of each has not been accurately noted. It would take long, even if it were possible, to describe the many fragments broken in pieces, and difficult to appropriate; but worthy of note is a tripod. Its caldron, in bronze, has a diameter of nearly 9 ins. The supports, one of which is well preserved, are of iron, but finished off in the form of a human leg in bronze. On each of the supports is a quadruped in bronze (dog?), resting on right leg, and touching with his mouth the edge of the caldron; while on each of the transverse bars is the figure of a man on foot, executed in bronze. The three figures are nude, beardless, and have the ears of a Satyr, with long hair, and hands resting upon the cauldron. The workmanship of these figures, as well as of the three animals, is very clumsy.

Of great interest are some vases of silver with representations in low relief, and finished off with the chisel, found near the western wall, but a little advanced towards the centre, at K. These, in style and workmanship, resemble silver vases from the island of Cyprus; from the tombs at Cære, of Regulini Galassi; and from the suburbs of Salerno; whilst another similar example has come to light at the excavations in Palestrina made by order of the Prince Barbarini. The style shows a mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian art, but with less stiffness in the treatment than belongs to the works of these two nations.

Near these was a tazza, slightly gilt; diameter,  $7\frac{5}{8}$  ins. Round the brim is twined a serpent whose tail is brought

back to its mouth, a symbol of the *κόσμος*.<sup>1</sup> Under the serpent a line of figures; first a man with long, pointed beard, without moustachios, in long tunic, is seated to the left, on a throne, holding in left hand an Egyptian staff, and with the right he holds up a ball. His head is covered with a conical cap or tiara, similar to that on a tazza in the same style found at Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Behind this figure is an umbrella, and before him a pillar with a crater upon it, without handles, and a *simpulum*; and more to the left is an altar with fire on the *focus*. In the field, over the altar, is figured the disc of the sun with wings. Behind the seated figure is seen another on foot, but bearded and clothed like the other, who with a knife is disembowelling an animal fastened to a tree. In front of them, to the right, is a *biga*, the horses of which have the heads resting on a manger; and near this, on foot, stands an ostler in long tunic and belt. Over this figure, in the air, two birds are poised; while out of the ground, behind the *biga*, grows a date-palm; and in front two other trees of similar kind to that on which the dead animal is hanging. Then follow many hunting scenes,—chariots and huntsmen with bows and arrows.

Near this tazza was found a crater of silver lightly gilt, and similar in style; but it is difficult to describe it in detail in consequence of its oxydised state. For the same reason I cannot particularise a semi-spherical cup without handles, of silver-gilt. Diameter,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  ins. Inside this was found another of bluish glass, somewhat opaque; and which, from analogy, may afford a clue to the chronology.

Among the other silver vases I will limit myself to the mention of a *simpulum*, 6 ins. long, terminating in the head of a swan; and a circular *colum*, 6 ins. diameter.

Near the western side, but more to the south than the silver vases, were found many of bronze (at L), but very much decayed; and near them numerous fragments of ivory, similar to those before mentioned. Near them (at M), and in the angle formed by the said wall with the northern side, were discovered various vessels of wood

<sup>1</sup> Macrob., *Sat.* i, 9-12.

<sup>2</sup> See Longpérier, *Musée Napoleon III*, Pl. 10.

ornamented with bronze nails fixed into them, similar in general to those from the warriors' tombs at Cære.

Along the northern wall were not found carved objects; but mixed with the earth were many fragments of ceramic ware covered with a greenish, blue enamel; and at N were found fragments of a bronze shield with geometrical ornaments.

Near the eastern wall (at O) was discovered a large cauldron of bronze, on the brim of which are fixed two heads in the Egyptian style, and various pieces of wood encrusted with bronze, and some nude male figures of bronze,  $3\frac{1}{8}$  ins. and  $3\frac{3}{8}$  in length; the workmanship rather clumsy.

I have shortened Mr. W. Helbig's excellent account of the articles found, from the *Bullettino*, 1876; and his opinion, founded on arguments too long to go into, is that from the mixture of the Assyrian and Carthaginian styles in the objects referred to, these are of Phœnician or Carthaginian manufacture, probably imported by the latter nation; and this supposition is not inconsistent with the political history of the early part of the sixth century B.C., which he considers to be the date of this tomb, when the Carthaginians and natives of Italy were striving to check the progress of Greek colonisation, and when Etruria and Latium were inundated with objects of Carthaginian manufacture.

It is well that the Italian Government has secured the contents of this tomb for the sum of 70,000 francs, and that they are safely lodged in the Kircherian Museum at Rome.

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## THE CASTLE OF DOVER.

BY T. BLASHILL, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.

(*Read at the Dover Congress, August 1883.*)

THE materials furnished by ancient records for a history of this fortress are scanty; and it is unfortunate that modern attempts to make up the deficiency have rather tended to obscure the evidence derivable from the chief source of information,—the remains of the works themselves. I do not intend to give in this paper a detailed description of the several parts of the fortifications, for that has frequently been done; but rather to point out the order in which they were executed, and to correct some of the errors that have darkened their history.

The existence of a British fortification on the Castle Hill has been inferred from the fact that a great dry moat or ditch surrounds the outer walls. While, however, it is possible that this hill may have been so occupied, I consider that trustworthy evidence of British military occupation is entirely wanting. It has also been thought that remains of a Roman earthwork can be traced; but here again we are without evidence sufficient to support such an opinion. And looking to the condition of Britain during the Roman occupation, and its relation to the province of Gaul on the opposite coast, it does not seem that any need existed for defensive works.

The Pharos here, and its counterpart on the Western Heights, were the real requirements of that time, serving to guide the Roman vessels through the Straits when Rutupiæ and Portus Lemaniæ shared the Continental traffic, and the importance of Dover was not yet foreseen.

We need not here enter into the question whether the church which stands by the Pharos is of Roman or Saxon foundation. The importance of this site, in a military sense, would increase, if it did not even begin, when the masters of the position looked across the narrow sea to a country that was in hostile hands, and when unfriendly vessels threatened the coast. We may, therefore, believe

that the Castle Hill was occupied in a military sense throughout the Saxon period ; the importance of the town and the fortification increasing, until the Norman conquest brought new sources of prosperity and power.

William strengthened the Castle of Dover, and gave it in charge to John de Fenis as Constable, who appointed certain knights to keep guard with him, each having a proportionate number of manors granted to him to support the cost of his particular service. The names of the several knights, and the manors held by each, under the tenure of castle-guard, are given in a book now in the Record Office, called a *Feodary of Kent*, compiled by Cyriac Petit, an officer of the Exchequer in the reign of Henry VIII.

No part of the works guarded by these knights now remains ; nevertheless all the historians of the Castle either expressly state, or seem to allow, that the outer fortifications which now exist were built by these confederate knights, or at least occupy the sites of towers that had been built by them. Accordingly the outer towers are distinguished by the names of William de Abrinces, lord of Folkestone (who held twenty-one knights' fees, and furnished twenty-one men, who kept guard for twenty-eight weeks), Fulbert de Dover, Arsic, Peverel, Maminot, Port, Crèveœur, and Fitzwilliam ; and by the names of other knights, the lieutenants or successors of the first. It is, however, clear, not merely from the architectural features of the several towers, but from the general scheme of the outer fortifications, that they belong to a period much later than that of the Norman knights, and to a system that had not been developed in their days.

There is no reason to think that the main fortifications of the Norman kings extended over a greater area than that of the mounds now occupied by the church and Pharos, and by the buildings of the inner ward. Beyond the main line of defence were detached towers, which served the same purpose as the detached forts of modern military engineering, by enabling their occupiers to annoy an enemy who might be approaching the outer walls. Three such towers are known to have existed ; and it is quite probable that they represent a larger number which were

under the charge of the confederate knights. There is no evidence to show that Dover was provided with one of those massive keep-towers which were characteristic of the Norman system of fortification until the reign of Henry II, the first of the Plantagenet kings. The keep built by him is one of the finest structures of its class. As regards its design, the extreme plainness of all the parts which were intended for purely defensive purposes would permit us to think that it was founded in the beginning of his reign, or even (as has been said) in the last year of Stephen; but the design of the part which contains the chapel, which is distinguished by its beauty, is clearly of the latter part of the reign of Henry. It so closely resembles the work of the choir and eastern transepts of Canterbury Cathedral, which was being executed at that time, as to leave no doubt that it was done by the same hand, and that it belongs to the period from 1180 to 1187. It was an almost invariable rule that such a keep-tower should be either built close to the outer wall of the fortress, or even form part of the outer line of defence; but this keep stands detached in the open yard of the Castle. It is, however, certain that some buildings not now existing did once occupy the ground on the eastern side of the keep. It is highly probable that they were close to its eastern wall; and it is difficult to account for the narrowness of one side of the part which contains the chapel unless this irregularity was determined by the existence of an older building of importance close to that spot.

The towers and walls which now enclose the inner ward have been so much altered at various periods that it is impossible to say that they contained any work of the date of the keep. Such small parts as have any architectural character belong to the next century; but it seems highly probable that the main body of the construction is of Norman date, or at least occupies the site of the Norman wall and towers. It was these walls and towers, and not those of the present outer line of defence, that had to resist the only siege of great political importance which the Castle has had to endure; and unless this is clearly seen it is impossible to understand the account of the attack by the Dauphin of France in the last year of King John.

The siege was begun in the regular way, with weapons of the most modern and approved type, the great military engines then in use having been specially sent from France. The French were not able to closely invest the Castle on all sides, but directed their attack chiefly against its north-western angle; the part which, from the nature of the ground, could be most easily approached. They began by driving a trench or covered way, faint traces of which can still be seen immediately above the footway now called "Harold Passage", and which ran from that spot to the top of the hill, so as just to clear the towers and wall at the place where the outwork called "The Spur" now projects northwards from the inner ward. This trench is clearly indicated, through a considerable part of its length, upon a map dated 1756, and now in the possession of the military authorities at Dover; but it was almost entirely covered by one of the earthen bastions thrown up for the defence of the Castle about the end of the last century. The siege-works proceeded so far as to admit of an attack on the foundation of the wall, the earth being thrown out from it so as to raise a bank along its southern side, and thus to shelter the sappers from the missiles of the garrison. It was then that Sir Stephen de Pencester succeeded in introducing his four hundred men-at-arms into the Castle by approaching it on its eastern side, causing the Dauphin to raise the siege, and return to France for reinforcements. Thereupon Pencester, or the Constable, Hubert de Burgh, proceeded to make an outwork which would prevent any further attempt to follow up the attack at the same spot.

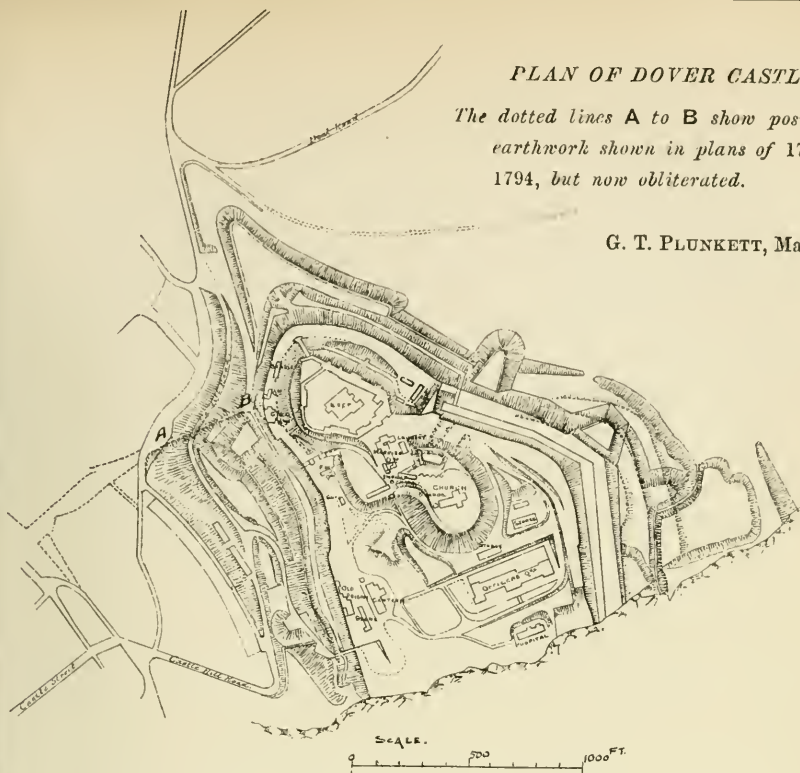
It has, I believe, been assumed by every modern writer on the subject, that this work was executed to the northward of the existing outer wall and ditch, occupying part of the ground now covered by the great ravelin that extends towards the Deal road. This outer defence is, however, clearly of a date later than the time of this siege; and the position of the trench made by the Dauphin, if it has been correctly identified, is quite conclusive on this point. I am happy to be confirmed in this view by Major Plunkett, whose very lucid and interesting address on the development of these fortifications is printed in this volume (p. 152); and it is clear that no



# PLAN OF DOVER CASTLE.

The dotted lines A to B show position of earthwork shown in plans of 1756 and 1794, but now obliterated.

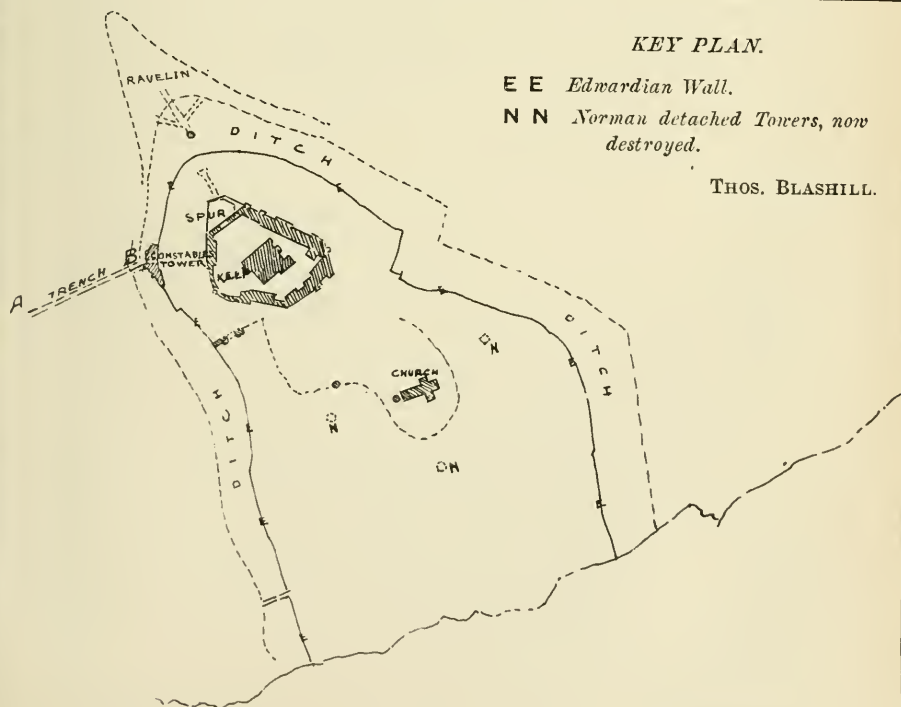
G. T. PLUNKETT, Major, R.E.



## KEY PLAN.

EE Edwardian Wall.  
NN Norman detached Towers, now destroyed.

THOS. BLASHILL.







such trench could have been made by a hostile force had the outer defences been then in existence, for the garrison would have enfiladed or raked the trench with their missiles through the whole of its length. I suggest that the outwork actually made after the Dauphin's visit was on the spot now occupied by "The Spur", which would exactly effect the object the defenders had in view. This work, thrown up in haste, modified in later times to suit the changing systems of fortification, and neglected, as concerned its appearance, has, from the absence of architectural features, been assumed to be of Saxon date.

But the proofs of this view of the condition of the defences in the time of John does not depend alone on this identification of the Dauphin's trench. The whole character of the outer line of defence stamps it as Edwardian. The deep ditch, lined with the wall or curtain that is interrupted at frequent intervals by projecting towers, from which the garrison could readily defend themselves against an attack on any single tower, or on any part of the curtain-wall, belongs to that improved system of fortification which it is thought the Crusaders learnt from the Roman works seen by them in the Holy Land. Adopted in England as early as the reign of Henry III, these works may belong mainly to that period, the very scanty remains of architectural embellishments chiefly indicating a thirteenth century date. The more important parts of the works, as the Constable's Tower, and the detached tower in the ditch in front of the northern angle, the towers in rear of it, with the most interesting subterranean construction communicating with a kind of barbican, would cover a somewhat extended period. These last would fulfil precisely the same office, in reference to the Edwardian fortifications, which "The Spur" did to the Norman works, and which the ravelin does now when modern artillery demands more serious means of protection to a weak point in the system of defence. The hexagonal tower on the north-eastern face, which commands the eastern ditch, and is well pierced with loopholes, belongs, both architecturally and as a piece of military engineering, to a later date, although it bears the name of Sir William d'Avranches.

The minute account given by Darel of the confederate

knights, and his identification of the several towers of the outer walls with them, and with their lieutenants and successors, is calculated to mislead the writers who have followed him, and who could not appreciate the architectural evidence of the existing works, or their significance in a military point of view. Lyon, while following him pretty closely, stumbles upon a discrepancy which should have led to further consideration, when he fails to see why certain names are associated with the inner system of towers, while the knights who bore the names were bound by their tenure to guard the outer defences. Viewed in the light which the considerations I have submitted throw upon it, the question seems free from difficulty, though there is still much in the relations of Penchester and De Burgh to the Castle that needs to be cleared up, so as to reconcile the dates at which they are represented to have governed it with reasonable probability.

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#### NOTES.

The late Rev. C. Hartshorne says that the keep at Dover was built chiefly in the 26th and the 29th to 33rd years of Henry II, in which years £1,085 : 5 : 6 was spent there. (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xx, p. 210.)

An excellent description of the keep, in minute detail, by Mr. G. T. Clark, will be found in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 436, also in his *History of Mediæval Military Architecture*.

The accompanying Plate contains a careful plan of Dover Castle by Major Plunkett, showing the present state of the buildings and earthworks. To this I have added a key-plan showing the order of the different works, with special reference to this paper, as well as to illustrate his address. See p. 152 *ante*.

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## THE FONT AT ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH, SANDWICH.

BY THOMAS DORMAN, ESQ.

(Read Aug. 21, 1883.)

I WISH to call attention to this font, and perhaps some one of the members of the Dover Congress may be able to assist in fixing the date of it. It is described by Boys as an ancient octagonal bason and shaft, raised on a base of two steps, all of stone. The bason is perforated at the bottom. Its interior diameter is  $24\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; its exterior, 34; its depth within, 10. The height of the shaft is 20 ins.; and of its capital and bason, almost 19 more. The eight faces are charged with shields and roses alternately. On the shields are:—1, the arms of England quartering France, modern; 2, a merchant's mark; 3, the arms of the Cinque Ports; 4, the arms of Ellis (as Boys says; but of this more presently). Above these squares, at the eight angles of the moulding, are grotesque faces, except at the dexter side of the first shield, where the ornament is a bird like the heron; and on the sinister side is a coronet with balls between spires terminated with fleurs-de-lis. At another corner is a small Satyr mounted on the back of a larger. In the same member of the moulding, over the roses are leaves; a Satyr's face; four acorns saltirewise, with their stalks nowed; and a flower.

The first shield is suspended from the head of a human figure with two long, extended feathers in the place of its arms and shoulders. The second hangs from a cask (or perhaps a wallet, such as the emblem of Child's Bank at Temple Bar); the third from the flukes of an anchor; and the fourth from a hook. In the moulding of the capital of the shaft, at the angles, are oak-leaves; and under the shield No. 3 is an angel holding a shield bearing a plain cross; under another is a wheel; under the other two are Satyr's faces; under the roses are flowers.

In the shaft are eight niches with demi-quatrefoiled

canopies between diminishing buttresses. At the bottom of the niches are pedestals ornamented at their bases with foliage, fruit, and flowers. The figures are removed.

Boys says he at first thought it was erected in the time of Edward the Black Prince; but the three fleurs-de-lis in the royal arms showed it to be later, and perhaps the gift of Thomas Ellis, a Commissioner of Sewers, 3rd Henry V (1416). Boys is clearly wrong in attributing the arms on the fourth shield to Ellis, the Ellis arms being "*or*, on a cross *sa.* five crescents *arg.*", which these arms certainly are not.

The Rev. James Layton, deceased, the last Master of Sir Roger Manwood's Grammar School here, in a MS. which he left in his copy of Boys, says that the merchant's mark on the second face is the mark of Alexander Aldy, Mayor in 1530; and he also says the arms on the fourth shield are those of Aldy, "five alder-leaves fructed on a cross engr., with a crescent in the first quarter." This appears a possibly apt emblazonment of the arms, but I have not been able to find any confirmation; and though there were Aldys in Kent, one of whom married Benet, the great-granddaughter of Thomas Ellis, the founder of St. Thomas' Hospital here,<sup>1</sup> and was possessed of the manor of Chequers at Ash, and the name of Aldy appears several times in our list of mayors, their arms seem to have been, "*erm.*, on a chief *sa.* two griffins combatant *arg.*"

Mr. James Greenstreet, writing to *Notes and Queries* in May 1881, says the arms are those of Archdeacon Robert Hallum, and he blazons them thus: "a cross engr., charged with five *ermine* spots, a crescent (for difference) figuring in the dexter chief." He says the presentation to the churches of St. Clement and St. Mary, Sandwich, belonged to the Archdeacon of Canterbury; and we find that Robert Hallum, who then held the office, and was subsequently Bishop of Salisbury (1408-17), presented John Chaundeler to the vicarage of St. Mary in 1404; and Mr. Greenstreet says the arms are undoubtedly those of this prelate, who, according to Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorial* (p. 621), bore "*sa.*, a cross engr. *erm.*, and in the dexter chief a crescent *arg.*" Robert Hallum

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1106.



was Archdeacon from 1401-8. It appears from Hasted that he went to Rome in 1406, and was there declared by the Pope to be Archbishop of York by letters of provision, which were shortly after revoked; and in 1408 he was appointed Bishop of Salisbury; and as France modern was not adopted until the year 1405, we may fix the date of the font between that year and 1408, — possibly between 1405 and 1406.

I must observe, however, that though Mr. Greenstreet's supposition is most probably correct, still in the various manuscript copies of the *Visitation of Kent* (Camden by Philipot, in 1619-20) in the British Museum, and further, in the original records at the Heralds' College, I find exactly similar arms to those on the font attributed to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, or their predecessors, the Priory of Christchurch. It is true that there does not appear any trace elsewhere of such arms having been used by the Dean and Chapter, who now use the original old seal of the Priory, "*az.*, on a plain crose *arg.*, the letters  $\frac{1}{2}$  in old English characters"; but still there, in the original records and the various manuscript copies, these arms are attributed to the Dean and Chapter.

I must observe also that the roses on the font appear to me to be Tudor roses, which would postpone the date to 1485; and I am told by competent authority that the crescent in the coat is not a mark of difference, but an integral part of the coat, as appears from its size and position. It is curious also that another Archdeacon, Kingsley, in 1619 bore "*sa.*, a cross engr. *erm.*, in the first quarter a mullet *or*", being very similar arms.

I cannot explain how the arms of the Dean and Chapter should appear on this font, while the patron's arms might be expected; but it seems to me that the subject is worth attention, with a view of clearing the matter up; and I shall be very pleased to assist any one in doing so, and should be obliged by any reference which would enable us to find out the owner of the merchant's mark on the second shield, and the true date of the font.

## FINGER-NAIL LORE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 5 March 1884.)

THE subject upon which we are now about to treat, viz., finger-nails, may seem at first sight to belong exclusively to the physiologist; but the human nail, small as it is, is so loaded with ancient traditions and superstitions, mythic tales, odd fancies, quaint fashions, and strange conceits, that the archæologist has a right to divide its consideration with the anatomist, leaving to him the phenomena of its development and structure, claiming only such portions of the question as relate to man's social history, creeds, and customs.

The traditions regarding the human nail carry us back to ages of primæval bliss, to the glorious realms of Paradise, to a period of undefiled existence, to the very birth and birth-place of the human race. A Rabbinic story relates how our first parents were, in their state of innocence, clothed in a transparent garment, a shining covering, which at their rebellion against Jehovah's law shrank into the unguual defences still found upon the toes and fingers of their descendants, the tokens of the former and the fallen condition of mankind.

Long has existed and wide-spread is the belief that the form of our unguual defences proclaims the character and capacity, temperament and social rank, of individuals; like as the phrenologist, physiognomist, and palmister, declare that they are indicated by the cranium, face, and hand. Though this belief has many friends it has yet some foes. Among others is Gaule, who in his *Magastromancers Posed & Puzzel'd* (1652), p. 187, tells us that it is thought "long nailes, and crooked, signe one brutish, ravenous, unchaste; very short nailes, pale and sharp, show him false, subtile, beguiling; and so round nailes, libidinous; but nailes broad, plain, thin, white, and reddish, are the tokens of a very good wit." Remnants of this ancient creed are still traceable in the popular notion

that broad nails are indicative of plebeian origin, coarse, vulgar mind, and unfeeling heart; that long or "filbert-nails" bespeak patrician ancestry, proud spirit, fervid imagination, and refined taste; whilst sharp hooks are characteristic of all that is sordid, selfish, base, and brutal. Whenever a fiend or demi-human monster is depicted, either by pen or pencil, he is sure to have long nails. Shakspeare, in *The Tempest* (ii, 2), attributes them to Caliban, and makes him say to Trinculo, "I, with my long nails, will dig thee pig-nuts"; and the presumed length of his Satanic Majesty's unguis has gained him the sobriquet of "Old Scratch", and makes the Clown in *Twelfth Night* (iv, 2) sing :

"In his rage and his wrath  
Cries ah ! ha ! to the Devil.  
Like a mad lad,  
*Pare thy nails, Dad ;*  
Adieu, goodman Devil !"<sup>1</sup>

Fiendish as long nails are considered in Europe, certain races of Africa and Asia have ever regarded them as ensigns of rank, and elegant and enviable appendages to the ten digits; employing every method they can think of to develop them as much as possible; resorting to warm water, baths of various kinds, and poultices, to bring them up to the standard of beauty. It is stated that the natives of Upper Nubia encourage their growth by holding the hands over small fires of cedar-wood.

Our good old countryman, Sir John Maundevile, speaks of an Eastern people whose sovereign "hathe every day 50 fair Damyseles, alle Maydenes, that serven him everemore at his Mete. Thei kutten his Mete, and putten it in his Mouthe; for he touchette no thing, ne handlethe nought, but holde the evere more his handes before him upon the Table; for he hathe *so long Nayles* that he may take no thing, ne handle no thing. *For the Noblesse of that Contree is to have longe Nayles, & to make them growen alle weys to ben as longe as men may.* And there ben manye in that Contree that han hire *Nayles so longe that*

<sup>1</sup> The fossil shells of the *Gryphæa incurva* are popularly known as "the Devil's toe-nails", and are hence regarded with becoming awe by the vulgar.

*thei enveyronne alle the hand*; and that is a great Noblesse." The people here described can be none other than the Chinese, who have ever been renowned for the elongation of their ungual members, which they still continue to cultivate with avidity, thinking them "a great Noblesse."

Sir John Davis, in his account of the Chinese (i, p. 252), says that "it is fashionable in both men and women to allow the nails of the left hand to grow to an inordinate length, until they assume an appearance very like the claws of the *Bradypus* as represented in Sir Charles Bell's work on the *Hand*. An English gentleman in China reasonably prohibited one of his servants from indulging in this piece of foppery, on the ground that fingers provided with such appendages could not possibly perform any work.<sup>1</sup> The brittleness of the nail rendering it liable to break, they have been known sometimes to protect it, when very long by means of thin slips of bamboo"; and it may be added that there were formerly in the Museum of the United Service Institution two very long Chinese nail-cases, of silver, which looked for all the world like the claws of some savage beast.

The passion for long nails is by no means universal; many nations are, and ever have been, content to keep their unguis within moderate bounds by cutting and clipping; to which operations let us now turn, for mighty events hang upon nail-paring.

The wealthy Romans prided themselves in having their nails kept in peculiar order, the knife employed for the purpose being termed *cultellus*, as we learn from Horace<sup>2</sup> and Valerius Maximus.<sup>3</sup> It was part of the duty of the *tonsor*, or barber, to clip and pare the nails into proper shape; and when a man performed this act for himself, it was regarded as a mark of low station or excessive meanness.<sup>4</sup> We gather from Pliny<sup>5</sup> that at Rome it was

<sup>1</sup> Among other rules enjoined to the *femme de chambre* of the middle ages, one was never to let their nails be so long that dirt could be seen. See Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, ed. 1843, p. 602.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* i, 7, 51.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 2, 15. The Anglo-Saxons had a peculiar knife for paring nails, called *nægel-seax*. Du Cange (*s. v.* "Unguicularium") speaks of the *onuchisterion*, a knife, or instrument allied to it, for nail-cutting.

<sup>4</sup> Plaut., *Aulul.*, ii, 4, 33; Tibullus, *Eliq.*, i, 9, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *His. Nat.*, xxviii, 5.

religiously believed by many that it was ominous, in a pecuniary point of view, for a person to pare his nails without speaking, on the *nundine*, or market-days, or to begin doing so at the forefinger.

Sir Thomas Browne says, "The set and statary times for paring nails and cutting of hair is thought by many a point of consideration; which is, perhaps, but the continuation of an ancient superstition. To the Romans it was piacular to pare their nails upon the *nundine* (observed every ninth day), and was also feared by others on certain days of the week; according to that of Ausonius, '*Ungues Mercurio; Barbam Jove; Cypride Crines.*'"<sup>1</sup>

In Tomkis' comedy of *Albumazar*<sup>2</sup> we are told:

"He puls you not a haire, nor paires a naile,  
Nor stirs a foote, without due figuring  
The horoscope."

And we glean from other sources that certain days have ever been considered as propitious and unpropitious for nail-cutting. Thus we find it stated in Thomas Lodge's *Wit's Miserie and the World's Madnesse; discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age*,<sup>3</sup> when speaking of *Curiositie*, "Nor will he paire his nailes on White Munday to be fortunate in his love."

"That you may never pare your nailes upon a Friday" is a foolish fancy condemned by Barton Holiday in his *Τεχνογαμια*. An old rhyme says:

"Of a Friday's pare  
No good will come near."

And yet Addison, in his *Present State of the Jews* (p. 129), affirms that they superstitiously pare their nails on a Friday. If Friday be unlucky, Sunday is still more so:

"Better that child had ne'er been born,  
Who cuts its nails on a Sunday morn."

But that none may plead ignorance regarding the due time and exact consequence of nail-cutting, let the following quaint rhythmical rules be committed to memory, and strictly adhered to by all who place faith in them:

<sup>1</sup> *Vulgar Errors*, ed. 1630, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> 4to., London, 1634. Signat. B. 36.

<sup>3</sup> 4to., London, 1596, p. 12.



"Cut them on Monday, cut them for health;  
 Cut them on Tuesday, cut them for wealth;  
 Cut them on Wednesday, cut them for news;  
 Cut them on Thursday for a new pair of shoes;  
 Cut them on Friday, cut them for sorrow;  
 Cut them on Saturday, see your sweetheart to-morrow;  
 Cut them on Sunday, cut them for evil;  
 Cut them all the week round, and you'll go to the Devil."

These are not the only nor the most curious of the superstitions respecting nail-cutting. One of the ceremonies performed by every good Moslem during his pilgrimage at Mecca is to retire to the Valley of Mina, and there cut his nails, and bury the parings on the spot where the operation is performed. This is in fulfilment of the order given in the *Koran*, ch. xxii, "Let them put an end to the neglect of their persons"; for from the moment the pilgrim starts on his journey, until he has performed certain rites at Mecca, he is enjoined to neither pare his nails nor cut his hair.<sup>1</sup>

The Scandinavians were careful to keep their nails closely pared, for they believed that those who died with long nails contributed in a certain measure to "the end of all things". This belief was in conformity with the Eddaic account of the "Conflagration of the Universe" (i, 51), where it is said: "On the waters floats the ship *Naglfar*, which is constructed of the nails of dead men; for which reason great care should be taken to die with pared nails, for he who dies with his nails unpared supplies materials for the building of this vessel, which both gods and men wish may be finished as late as possible. But in this flood shall *Naglfar* float, and the giant *Hrym* be its steersman."

Dromio of Syracuse says, in *The Comedy of Errors*, iv, 3:

"Some Devils ask but the paring of one's nail,  
 A rush, a hair, a drop of blood, a pin,  
 A nut, a cherry-stone."

And evil spirits seem to have been ever anxious to get possession of nails and nail-parings, which they turn to

<sup>1</sup> The Moslem is not the only one who considers the neglect of nail-paring a religious duty. Major Moor (*Asiatic Researches*, v) describes a Hindoo devotee who had made a vow to continue for twenty-four years with his arms above his head, and whose nails had grown very long and crooked, or spirally curved.

some diabolic purpose unknown to mortal ken. When a child, I have seen a servant throw her nail-parings into the fire to prevent Old Nick having them, the act being accompanied by the following doggerel :

“ Into the fire my nail I throw  
To spite old, wicked Bugabo.  
The Devil he shall never get  
Of me the smallest, smallest bit.”

“ It is unlucky to cut a baby’s nail” is a proverb often in the mouths of benighted crones, and hence an old nurse will never cut an infant’s nail ; but should it require shortening, always nibbles off the piece as best she can, and generally casts it into the fire to prevent mischief to the bantling.

If Devils have coveted the nails of individuals in general, devout persons have been no less avaricious for pieces of the nails of holy saints and blessed martyrs, treasuring them up as sacred and wonder-working relics of no ordinary value. One instance of their conservation will illustrate the fact as well as a thousand. The parings of St. Edmund’s nails were exhibited for ages at Bury St. Edmund in Suffolk, and according to the legend were obtained by a pious woman named Oswyn, who affirmed that for years after the King’s death she had annually cut his hair and pared his nails with religious solicitude. It may be well to mention that some of St. Peter’s toenails are still shown among the sacred relics in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Whilst certain nations delight in having long nails, others take pride in having them nicely trimmed, and others again in changing their natural hue by artificial means. Some of the mummied bodies of Egyptian ladies exhibit the nails tinged of red colour; and at the present day in Egypt, the females of the higher and middle classes (and, indeed, some among the poorer sort) stain the nails of their fingers and toes, and other parts of their hands and feet, of a yellowish red or deep purple, with the leaves of the *henna*, or Egyptian privet (*Lawsonia inermis*). It is prepared for use by being powdered and mixed with a little water, so as to form a paste, which is laid on the parts desired to be stained. Some ladies, immediately after the removal of this paste, apply another

composed of quicklime, common smoke-black, and linseed oil, which converts the hue of the *henna* into a black, or rather blackish olive tint.

The artificial hue imparted to the nail by way of embellishment brings to mind the natural discolorations which not unfrequently show themselves, and upon which are founded the so called science of *onchyomancy* or *onychomancy*, the divination by finger-nails. Sir Thomas Browne records the ancient belief that spots on the top of the nails signify things past; in the middle, things present; and at the bottom, events to come; that white specks presage our felicity; blue ones, our misfortunes; that those on the nail of the thumb have significations of honour; of the forefinger, riches.<sup>1</sup> Many still hold to the belief that the marks on the different nails prognosticate different events:

“If on thumb ’tis a gift; if on index, a friend;  
If on middle, a foe; but ere to the end  
We arrive, a fond lover appears on next nail;  
And a journey to go on the last one we hail.”

Melton, in his *Astrologaster*, tells us, in his catalogue of divers superstitious ceremonies,—“6, that to have yellow speckles on the nails of one’s hand is a greate signe of death”; and Burton, in his *Melancholy* (ed. 1621, p. 214), says that a black spot appearing on the nails is a bad omen. But however bad the black spots may be, the white ones known as *gifts* have, according to some, a very favourable import, and are sure precursors of coming presents. Popular belief declares that

“One on the thumb is sure to come,  
One on the finger is long to linger.”

To cut through one of these *gifts* is looked upon as a sad mischance, the fell effects of which it is hard to avert:

“If gift you cut from off the nail,  
Ill luck will soon cause you to quail.”

There is, indeed, one mark and hue of nail which carries with it a sad foreboding, a fearful truth to all acquainted with the diagnostics of disease, and watch its deadly progress,—the pink nail with its edge bending round the

<sup>1</sup> *Vulgar Errors*, ed. 1650, p. 230.

finger-end of the poor victim of phthisis. But from disease let us turn again to the nail in health, rude, vigorous health, and to some of its pleasant and unpleasant adhibitions.

It is somewhere recorded that a gigantic ogre of ancient days had a scaly corsélet composed of the toe- and finger-nails of the enemies he had slain in battle, whose flesh he had devoured at his banquets ; it served him at once as a stout defence and ghastly trophy, perfectly unique in its way, and one which the King in the Romance might have coveted to wear with his mantle wrought of princely beards.

Lucretius, in his *De Rerum Natura* (v, 1282), says "man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails"; and of a truth too often have the delicate ungues of the fair sex served them as weapons against some hated rival,—a fact inwrought by Shakspeare in several of his plays. Thus in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (iii, 2), Helen tells Hermia :

"I am not yet so low  
But that my nails can reach unto thine eyes."

In the Second Part of *Henry VI* (i, 3), the Duchess of Gloucester says to Queen Margaret :

"Could I come near your beauty with my nails,  
I'd set my ten commandments in your face."

In *Antony and Cleopatra* (iv, 10), the former says to the latter :

..... "let  
Patient Octavia plough thy visage up  
With her prepared nails."

And in *King Lear* some powerful allusions are made to the employment of nails as weapons. In the first Act, Scene 4, the King, addressing Goneril, exclaims :

"I have another daughter,  
..... with her nails  
She'll flay thy wolfish visage."

And in the seventh Scene of the third Act, Gloster tells Regan, when she asks why he has sent the King to Dover,

"Because I would not see thy cruel nails  
Pluck out his poor old eyes, nor thy fierce sister  
In his anointed flesh stick boorish fangs."

The Police Reports of the present day bear witness that the nail is still exerted in acts of cutting and maiming ; and well, indeed, is it for society that the people of our islands have not, like the Blacks, poison under their nails.

In *The Rules of Civility* (translated from the French, 1685, p. 44), we read, "'Tis no less disrespectful to bite the nail of your thumb by way of scorn and disdain, and, drawing your nail from betwixt your teeth, to tell them you value not this what they can do; and the same rudeness may be committed with a fillip."

But it must not be supposed that the nail can be nothing else than a means of offence and insult, for it may be turned to a merry purpose, and become part and parcel of blithe revelry. "Make a pearl on your nail" is one of the drinking proverbs recorded by Ray (ed. 1768, p. 69), and which relates to the practice of drinking "*supernaculum*" (i.e., "*super ungulam*"), explained by Brand (ed. 1849, ii, 342) as "an ancient custom not only in England, but also in several other parts of Europe, of emptying the cup or glass, and then pouring the drop or two that remained at the bottom upon the person's nail that drank it, to show that he was no flincher." Thomas Nash, in *Pierce Pennilesse, his Supplication to the Divell* (1595), tells us that "*supernaculum*" is "a devise of drinking now come out of Fraunce, which is, after a man hath turnde up the bottom of the cup, to drop it on hys nayle, and make a pearl with that is left; which, if it slide, and he cannot mak stand on by reason thers too much, he must drinke againe for his penance." And further: "Now he is nobody that cannot drinke *supernagulum*, carouse the hunter's hoope, quaffe Upse freze crosse, with Healths, Gloves, Mumpes, Polockes, and a thousand such domineering inventions." Brathwaite, in his *Law of Drinking* (1617, p. 11), says, "they without any difficulty at all can soake and sucke it *εν του νυλ*, to a nayle." Heywood, in his *Philocothonista* (Lond., 1635, p. 51), speaks of drinking "tipsephruze, *supernaculum*", etc.; and allusions to the practice are not unfrequent in the pages of old authors. In *Timon* (ed. Dyce, p. 38) we read :

"Were it a whole hogsheade I would pledge thee.  
What if I drinke two? Fill them to the brimme.  
Wher's hee that shall marry with my sister?  
I drinke this to thee *super-naculum*."



And in the ballad of *The Winchester Wedding*<sup>1</sup> it is said :

“Then Phillip began her health,  
And *turn'd a beer-glass on his thumb* ;  
But Jenkin was reckon'd for drinking  
The best in Christendom.”

Our tale is now told ; the story of the finger-nail is done, and little more need be said upon the subject. We have striven to prove that every tiny nail is pregnant with interest,—mythologic, legendary, ethnologic interest,—which the archæologist has a right to claim as his portion, and which cannot fail of coming home to every heart and mind ; for it is an interest knit up, linked, and interwoven with the physical and social history of every being who has been, is, and ever shall be, on the earth. Let those who lack a theme for thought and study cast their eyes upon their nails, for upon every digit they will find a volume replete with stirring reminiscence : a volume which, if conned aright, will lead back the mind through the long labyrinth of departed centuries, wafting it from earth to heaven, from the created to the Creator ; a volume, every page of which tells of joy and sorrow, hope and fear, fancy and caprice, debasing superstition and effete vanity. The nails' story is boundless as the universe, knowing no limit of race nor rank, creed nor period. Its beginning is with the first of mortals, and will extend through every age, mid every people, in every clime, till time itself shall be no more.

<sup>1</sup> Ritson's *Ancient Songs* (1792), p. 297.

## NOTES ON COLDRED, IN KENT.

BY REV. C. IRVINE WIMBERLEY, M.A., VICAR.

*(Read 24 August 1883.)*

THE name of this place naturally takes our thoughts back to the beginning of the eighth century, when Ceolred or Kelret was King of the Mercians. Bede, the historian, tells us that he died in A.D. 716. But why or how the place got its present name is not so clear. Did this King of the Mercians ever set foot here? Some think that he did, with the view of assisting the Kentish men against Ina, King of the West Saxons, who had imposed a heavy tribute on them in 694; and to corroborate this idea they quote the *Saxon Chronicle*, which recounts a battle fought between them at Wodnesburg, a place which has its representative not far from here. But unfortunately there is another place in Staffordshire bearing a similar name, where it is quite as likely that the battle took place. I fear there is no proof that the Mercian King ever came here. Possibly, however, the place was called after him for some other reason unknown to us.

The earthworks are the special feature of the place, as probably taking us back to the days when the Romans had settlements here. The entrenchment, originally enclosing some two acres, is, as all can see, imperfect now, the roadway almost dividing it into half; and for the convenience of the farmstead, the vallum and fosse have been levelled in the farmyard. The mount on the south-east betokens the existence of a castle or some habitable building, and so also does the well. Hearsay records that when, about the beginning of this century, a new road or some alteration to the present road was made, the existence of the well became known to the workmen. It differs but slightly from the wells of modern days. An elderly man now living in the parish, formerly a well-sinker, tells me that he has been down it, and cannot detect any observable difference in it from the wells made now, except that its diameter is rather less than usual, whereas at the bottom it is much enlarged. It is, as might be expected, 296 feet deep in the chalk.—We

stand here nearly 400 feet above the sea. It is for antiquaries to decide whether the earthworks and the well belong to Roman or Saxon times.

The church, with St. Pancras as its titular saint, unpretentious and plain in style, especially after Barfireston, belongs to the early Norman period. Apparently the two small windows on the north side are the original ones. Except for its situation, there is nothing that calls for very special remark. For so small a building to have had three doors in the nave is, perhaps, unusual. The stonework of the west doorway was removed not many years ago. That the manor of Coldred was at the time of taking the *Domesday Book* part of the possessions of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, accounts, perhaps, for the feature, rather unusual in England, and suggesting Continental architecture,—what I may denominate the campanile with its double arches. Inside the church there is a brass in memory of a member of the Finch family, who once (as the Registers bear witness) resided in this parish. Whether the filled-in archway on the north side of the nave wall contained a monument or not, I cannot say.

It is worthy of notice that about three-quarters of a mile distant, in this parish, once stood another very small chapel, attached to the manor of Popeselle or Popeshall; but it has, I believe, never been used as a place of worship since the time of the Reformation. Until lately its size and site could be discovered when the summer heat parched the grass-land; but the owner has now removed the flint stones which formed the foundations, and no trace is distinguishable of the old building save a few pieces of carved stone which are still lying about.

Might I venture to call the attention of archæologists to the expediency of doing something to preserve as much as possible the old names of old England as valuable in many points of view? The adjoining parish, Sibertswold, will possibly, sooner or later, lose its rightful name, as the Railway Company has lent its powerful advocacy to perpetuate the name of “Shepherd’s Well” (a remnant of our illiterate forefathers) in place of the old and significant name which, with Wymyndswold on the west, and Ringwold on the east, tell of the open tracts of down which stretched for many miles in this breezy nook of Kent?

## THE CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, DOVOR.

BY EDWARD KNOCKER, ESQ., F.S.A.

(Read 25th August 1883.)

THE old parish church of St. James, prior to its late restoration, had fallen into a most dilapidated condition. It was held to be a Norman building; but the only indication of Norman work, independent of the tower, was the round-headed western door and the ashlar on the western face, reaching to an irregular height. But the arch and sides of the door had been so completely hidden by plaster that no vestige of Norman work was visible. The tympanum had been filled in, and a square-headed, common-framed door hung. Above it was a large timber-framed three-light window, pointed. On the north side of the nave were two large timber-framed three-light windows of a semi- or base Tudor character; and at the east end of the chancel was a window similar to that at the west end. The south side of the chancel had been only partially altered; but that side of the nave had been nearly all taken away, and so as to bring the adjoining building on the south into, and to form a part of, the church. Above the entire nave a flat plaster ceiling had been put up. The arches under the central tower were pointed; but on the abacus of each of the capitals on the west side there appeared a small portion of the Norman chevron-moulding. This used to be to me a great puzzle.

The first step in the work of the restoration, which was carried through by the late Talbot Bury of Welbeck Street, London, was to uncover the entrance-door; and that disclosed fragments of the several original Norman mouldings partially *in situ*. In the tympanum were found portions of the four shafts or columns of the sides. So that these relics being scrupulously followed, no doubt need be felt that the new entrance and its adjuncts are a facsimile of the original.

On removing a large, old benefaction-board in the

interior of the church, a small, Norman-shaped plain window was revealed. This constituted an important key. The plaster of the interior walls was, of course, all taken off. On the north side of the nave, towards the eastern and western extremities, were discovered lower portions of two old stone window-jambs; and it was found, on measuring, that three windows of similar shape to that discovered beneath the benefaction-board exactly filled up that side, the eastern and western extremities fitting into the old stone jambs. The same thing precisely occurred in the west wall, over the door. On each side were likewise found portions of two stone window-jambs. They could not have formed the sides of *one* window, for the breadth would have been too great for the height; and measuring in like manner this space, it was found that the outer jambs of two similar windows exactly fitted into the ancient jambs.

On the plaster being cleaned off the *tower* walls, strange to say, it was discovered that the tower-arch had been originally of the semicircular Norman shape. This, of course, accounted for the fractions of chevron-moulding appearing on the west side; but the arch on each side had been cut up into a point without disturbing the interior vaulting, and the remaining wall left covered only with plaster, *no new facing or keystone whatever being put up to support the wall above*. It ceased then to be a wonder why the bell-ringers always plied their vocation with fear and trembling on account of the vibration of the tower. The wonder is that it had not fallen in upon them. Amidst the rubbish in the tower were found portions not only of the chevron-moulding, but also of the moulding round the arch on the eastern side, thus enabling the architect to decide on that also. It will be perceived that the portion of the old chevron-moulding has not been disturbed.

The only other feature I need notice is the rose-window in the western wall. No positive authority was found for this; but the architect determined on it from its having been the form adopted in Norman churches in that part of East Kent. With that exception we entertain no doubt that the work has been a *pure restoration*.

The original church consisted of a chancel and nave. On the south side of it a building was subsequently



erected, it has been judged, in the Edwardian era, and probably in the reign of Edward I; and erected for the purpose of a hall for holding the Courts of the Admiralty and Chancery of the Cinque Ports, over which the Lord Warden or his lieutenant presided, assisted by legal officers. I find that in 6 William and Mary (A.D. 1694) the Worshipful George Oxenden, Doctor of Laws, was Judge Official and Commissary of the Court of Admiralty, and Richard Oxenden, Esq., Seneschal of the Court of Chancery. When originally built the flooring was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. below the level of the church-floor; and it is to be inferred from the three arches between the church and the hall that there must have been some sort of communication between them; but what, it is difficult to say. Before the restoration, the floor of the hall was, and had been for many years, filled in up to the level of the floor of the church, and formed a part of it. The central pillar between the two arches towards the east had been removed, and the arches thrown into one, for the convenience of Divine Service. The arch across the centre of the hall led the architect to dig down below the surface, and he came to the bases of the arch; and this showing the original flooring, he cleared it out to that level. In the east end of the hall were the remains of a raised platform or dais, about 4 ft. in height, under the arched recess in the wall which still exists. The wall within that recess had been covered with fresco painting; but it was too greatly decayed and destroyed to justify a positive opinion as to what was the subject of it. The dais was evidently the original seat of judgment. The two smaller arched recesses at the sides were, we suppose, for subordinate officers.

It may be supposed that the connection between a judicial hall and a church arose out of the fact that in those days the clerics were almost the only persons who could write, and upon whom, consequently, the chiefs were dependent for recording their proceedings.

The inquiry remains, what was the date of the erection of the hall? Its extent westward could not be determined, because between what had become an aisle of the church and the street, a vestry-room had been built at a later period, which, from the nature of the erection, could hardly have formed a portion of the original hall. From

all of the original work that remains, the architect was of opinion that the hall was erected in the Edwardian days; and if we may judge from old prints I should assign it to Edward I's reign. The south wall of the chancel being removed, the arches now existing were put up. It was doubtless at this time that the arches of the tower were altered in order to correspond with the new work.

We believe that it was in Edward I's time that the Courts of Chancery and Admiralty began to be of an organised character; for the navy of the Cinque Ports was fostered by the Edwardian kings, to whom it rendered considerable services.

The official designation of the Court was, "The Court of Chancery and Admiralty of the Cinque Ports"; but its beginning must be relegated to a period beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. I know of no certain data. The records have not had proper care. When they came into my hands as Registrar of the Cinque Ports, I found them in a very damp, decaying, and torn condition. What it was possible to preserve I had bound up in three volumes. The first begins with the proceedings of the Court of Chancery, held 13th June, 13 James I (A.D. 1615) in the Church of St. James the Apostle, in Dovor, before the Lieutenant of Dovor Castle and the learned Seneschal of the Court. The next Court was held in July following, and is intituled "The Court of the Chancery and Admiralty of the Lord the King, of the Cinque Ports, two antient Towns, and the Members of the same." The succeeding Courts held during that year were similarly intituled; but in the year following the proceedings of the two Courts were recorded separately. The minutes of the Chancery continue regularly down to 1689, and I have not met with any later than that year of 1 William and Mary. Those of the Admiralty continue also regularly (with the exception of a few breaks) down to the present day; the Court being still held from time to time, as occasion requires, for hearing causes. The present Judge Official, etc., is Arthur Cohen, Esq., Q.C. These Courts were invested, within the liberty or jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports, with all the powers of the Sovereign's superior Courts, the Admiralty having a concurrent jurisdiction with the

High Court of Admiralty. In the Appendix to the *Court of Shepway* (published in 1862) will be found copies of several papers in relation to the Court of Admiralty, showing somewhat of its powers and proceedings.

The third Court, which seems to have been ever held in the same place, was that of *Loadmanage* (a name derived, doubtless, from *lodesmen*, the ancient appellation of pilots). The first book which the present Registrar of the Cinque Ports has in his possession begins with a minute of a meeting held 20th Aug., 11 Henry VII (A.D. 1496), in the Common Hall at Dovor, in the presence of the Rev. and Right Worshipful Sir Edward Ponynys, Knight, Lieutenant under the most excellent Prince Henry, Duke of York, Marshall of England, Lieutenant of Ireland, Constable of the Castle of Dovor, and Warden and Admiral of the Five Ports; assembled all the possessioners and owners of all the passagers, farcosts, and craiers pertaining to the passage of Dovor." At this assembly ordinances were agreed upon for the regulating of the passage-boats.

The next entry in the book gives the latter portion of the acts and ordinances made and established the 25th of February, 18 Henry VIII (A.D. 1527), by Sir Edward Guilford, Constable of Dovor Castle, "Guarden" and Admiral of the Five Ports, for the conserving and keeping of the good order of the Loadsmen at Dovor and other places within the precinct and liberty of the said Five Ports.

These acts and ordinances occupy four pages of the book, and then follow a few entries (p. 11) without a date, succeeded by entries dated 9th of August 1568 (p. 14), occupying three pages and a half. Then follow (p. 16) orders and decrees made 28th of Feb. 1595, for two pages. After these the entries begin again (p. 17), according to a marginal date, in 1601. The foregoing may be only fragments; but from the year 1601 the proceedings appear to follow regularly on through the Commonwealth down to the year 1714 in the same book. This book had been bound up before it came into my possession. Other records succeed; and this Court continued to be held annually down to the year 1853, when the duties were transferred to, and the Cinque Ports' pilots were placed under the ordering of, the Trinity Board in London.

The Lord Warden or his deputy, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle, in holding these Courts was always attended by the several captains and lieutenants of the castles and forts within the Cinque Ports, those castles and forts having been erected in the reign of Henry VIII, and having had small local garrisons attached to them. When the Warden presided he was assisted by his lieutenant-governor and the Registrar of the Ports, who was the Clerk of the Court. The Duke of Wellington, during his Wardenship, was most punctual in his attendance at the Court.

I have thus endeavoured to give a brief outline of the church and of the Courts. The same remark as was made to the records of the Corporation may be made here. A Sir Edward Dering was once Lieutenant-Governor of the Cinque Ports, and he was a great collector of everything in the shape of muniments that he could lay his hand upon. The collection was a few years since offered for sale, and some of the Castle records were purchased by the authorities of the British Museum, where they will abide interred until (I hope at an early date) some enterprising philanthropist will undertake to give to the world, what it has not, a full and reliable account of the Castle and its keep, towers, etc., with its foundations and history. "*Bis dat qui cito dat.*"

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## THE LADY ANNE PERCY'S PORTRAIT

IN STAINED GLASS AT LONG MELFORD.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.,  
HON. SEC.*(Read 21st May, 1884.)*

It will be within the recollection of our Associates that Mr. Hamlet Watling, of Earl Stonham in Suffolk, to whom the British Archæological Association has frequently been indebted for the exhibition of facsimiles of stained glass and other antiquities, sent us last year the coloured drawing which is here reproduced.

The subject attracted my attention at the time of its exhibition, and I requested Mr. Watling to allow me to prepare some notes upon it with a view to elucidating several points of interest in connection with it; and that gentleman has, with his accustomed liberality, placed the drawing in my hands without reserve. I may here observe that it is evidently a work of careful and trustworthy execution, and we may safely trust Mr. Watling for having expended upon its production that zealous and intelligent care which distinguishes all the works which he has thought fit to lay upon our table.

The church<sup>1</sup> of Long Melford, in one of the windows of which the effigy is preserved, is not unlike other Suffolk churches in regard to its worthily sustaining within its sacred walls a considerable number of stained windows of the fifteenth century. Mr. Watling informs me that "Dr. Bishie, who wrote in 1688 an account of the painted glass windows which then existed in the church, thus describes the eighth window on the north side from the west: 'In the upper panes, REINSFORTH between his two wives. Under them is written, "Orate pro bono statu Laurencii ..... Militis et D'ne Hungerford et Elyzabethe Reinsforth uxoris suae et filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum", but in the lower panes nothing.' It is evident her

<sup>1</sup> See Jermyn's *Suffolk Collections*, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 8168, f. 161, for description of church and village.





<sup>1</sup> Drawn and Etched by M. V. Hing Stenham.

The Lady Anne Percy, from the W Window N Aisle Long Melford  
 Church Suffolk.



last marriage must have taken place after this portrait was placed in the window, that of her second husband being put in at the same time ; but unfortunately his portrait no longer remains. He died in 1490. The incrustation of dirt saved this lady's portrait ; for when it was taken out by the late Mr. Almack it could not be recognised before it was cleaned. This and the other beautiful specimens of the glass-painter's art were the gift of old John Clopton, for he in his old age filled the windows with the portraits of his ancestors and connections. The lady's portrait is now removed to the west window of the north aisle."

Thus far Mr. Watling. I find in corroboration of this quotation, that the indefatigable Davy, in his extensive series of *Suffolk Collections*, now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 19,078, f. 61), quoting a MS. written apparently in 1688, by the Rector of the time, says: "On the north side of the church ..... The eighth window in the upper part, Reinsforth with his two wives, under whom is written as follows : 'Orate pro bono statu Laurentii Reinsforth Militis et D'næ Hungerford et Elizabethæ Reinsforth uxor' suæ et filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum.'"

This window (I presume of three lights) is now imperfect, and the only remaining part of it is the left hand light, which Mr. Watling has here facsimiled for us. The centre light probably contained a figure of Sir Lawrence Reynsforth ; and the right hand light, his second wife. The second wife of Sir Lawrence Reynsforth does not, however, concern us on this occasion, for we only have to consider the Lady Anne Percy, his first wife.

The window, as here faithfully reproduced, is of the usual style of fifteenth century stained glass art ; and I have no doubt that Mr. W. Cope, who has made stained glass a special study, will add a few words about the technical points of its elaboration. The noble Lady Anne is represented in richly embroidered attire, wearing a lace collar and a stiff white linen wimple or coif ; with her hair gathered in a kind of net of reticulated pattern. The robe or dress is ornamented with her family arms set forth in heraldic tinctures, viz., quarterly, first and fourth, *argent*, a lion rampant *azure*, for the DUKES OF BRABANT and LOUVAIN, whose true colours, as now

borne by His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, are, *or*, a lion rampant, *az.* The variation of *argent* for *or* in the field may be an error on the part of the window-painter, or the dirty and faded condition of the window may have created in Mr. Watling's mind a doubt as to the true tincture. Second and third, *gules*, three lucies or pikes haurient, *argent*, for LUCY, as borne also by the Duke of Northumberland. The lady's mantle is lined ermine, and charged on the outside with the armorial bearings of RAYNSFORTH, viz., quarterly, first and fourth, *gules*, a chevron engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis, *argent*, for RAYNSFORTH. The window-painter has carelessly made the chevron plain in the first quarter. Second and third, *gules*, three eagles displayed, *or*, for BROKESBOURNE, of which family the heiress married into RAYNSFORTH, as will be shown presently.

The Lady Anne is depicted in a window, 3 ft. 9½ ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins., kneeling in profile to the right, with three-quarter face, and elevating her hands in the conventional attitude of prayer. She kneels upon a cushion or pillow of blue stuff enriched with a foliated pattern in black, and having a red tassel with a gold button at each corner. The pavement or dais is indicated by a tessellation of white tiles with a black ornamental cross or saltire pierced, alternating with black tiles similarly enriched with white crosses. The edge or border of this pavement is white with golden roses and studs. The background of the picture represents an arch of composite character in which a variety of architectural details, chiefly buttresses, lancet windows of peculiar form, and corbels, are mingled somewhat confusedly, but not inelegantly; and a low, round-headed arch with foliage or crocketings opens the upper part of the tableau. Behind all, the open air is indicated by a background of deep cerulean blue, enriched with black diaperings of circular pattern.

With the portrait, as Mr. H. Watling informed me subsequently, was a quarry or lozenge-shaped pane of glass from a window, having a crescent enclosing a field party per pale, *sa.* and *argent*, charged with an ornamental double-swivel fetterlock *or*.

With regard to this fetterlock badge of the Percy family, Mr. Watling states that in Knaresborough Church, co.



York, is the effigy of a lady of the Percy line lying upon an altar-tomb, her feet resting against a crescent. In Alnwick Castle, co. Northumberland, are crescents similar to the one here exhibited.

## INSCRIPTION.

“Orate pro b'o statu  
Laurēcii Rei[n]sforth militis  
et dñæ Hungerford  
filix Comitis Northumbriæ.”

I am unable to say if this is the entire inscription, or if it went right along the three windows, of which this is evidently the left hand light, and so only gives us a part of each line.

George Tate, in his well known *History of the Borough, Castle, and Barony of Alnwick*,<sup>1</sup> gives a very full pedigree of the Percy family after the acquisition of Alnwick, but, strange to say, omits all reference to this lady.

Henry Percy, second Earl of Northumberland, son of the renowned Hotspur, and father of this Lady Anne, was born 3 Feb. 1393; restored to the Earldom on 11 May 1414; became Constable of England in 1440; and was slain in the disastrous battle of St. Alban's, 22 May 1455. He is buried in St. Alban's Abbey.

The Earl married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, aunt of the John Neville who was created Earl of Northumberland, 4 Edward IV. This Earl Henry built the Bond Gate, Alnwick, and the keep of Warkworth; and procured licence for embattling Alnwick in 1434, when the Bond Gate was built.

Collins<sup>2</sup> says: “Anne Percy, probably youngest daughter of Henry, second Earl of Northumberland, was born at Dugnanis (so it seems written in Cavell's Roll, but is thought to mean Dunganess in Scotland) on 3 Feb. 1400” (probably an error for 1428, see note, p. 291, *l. c.*). She lived to an extreme old age, according to Dugdale,<sup>3</sup> who states that she died 5th July 1522, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel, within the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster.

Mr. C. Hartshorne, in his *Illustrations of Alnwick, Prud-*

<sup>1</sup> Alnwick, 1866, vol. i, pp. 415 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Peerage*, ii, 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Baronage*, ii, 211.



*hoe, and Warkworth* (printed for private distribution), a rare work, places Lady Anne, in the table of the Percy pedigree, as second daughter, after Joane, a nun at Whitby; but this is not in accord with manuscript evidence.

The Harley MS. 1194 (a miscellaneous collection of heraldic papers), at f. 63 places this Anne first in the list of the children of Henry Lord Percy, and only notices her first marriage.

The Harley MS. 891 ("Visitation of Suffolk and Lancashire"), at p. 46 b, also places Anne Percy as first daughter, without any notice of her matches.

The Harley MS. 348, at f. 4 b, gives, in a list of Percy scions, nine sons and three daughters of Henry, eighth Percy, second Earl of Northumberland, the daughters being enumerated in this order: (1), Katherine, married to Edmund Lord Grey de Ruthyn; (2), Anna; and (3), Johanna Percy, "in Whitby sepulta." From this latter phrase it has been erroneously conjectured that Anna as well as Johanna was buried at Whitby.

The Lansdowne MS. 447, at f. 84, has a notice of similar effect to the foregoing.

The Harley MS. 853, at p. 115, places the three daughters of Henry Percy, second Earl of Northumberland, in the order,—Katherine, Joan, Anna.

The following extract from an almost contemporary notice of the Percys, in MS. Harl. 692, f. 249, relates to this nobleman:—

"Henry Percy, the sonne of Sir Henry Percy that was slayne at Shrewesbury, and of Elizabeth the daughter of the Earle of Marche, after the death of his ffather and grauntsyre was exiled into Scotland in the time of King Henry the ffourth; but in the time of King Henry the ffifth, by the labour of Johanna, the Countess of Westmoreland, whose daughter Alianor he had wedded in coming into England, he recovered the Kings Grace and the countye of Northumberland (so was the second Erle of Northumberland). And of this Alianor his wyfe he begate 9 sonnes and 3 daughters, whose names be

"Johanne that is buried in Whytbye.

Thomas Lord Egremont.

Katheryne Gray, Ruthyn.

Sir Raffe Percy.

William Percy, a Byshopp.

Richard Percy.

John that dyed without issue.

George Percy, Clerke.

Henry that dyed without issue.

Anne.

“ But in the yere of grace 1452 there arose, for dyvers causes, a greate discord betwixt him and Richard the Erle of Salisbury, hys wyfe’s brother, in so much that many men of both parties were beten, slayne, and hurt. And in the yere of Grace 1453, at Staynforde Bridge, besyde Yorke, there was a Battayll set betwixt Thomas Lord Egremont and Richard his brother, the sonnes of the said Erle of Northumberland, on the one partie, and two sonnes of the sayd Erle of Salisbury on the other partie; that is to say, Syr Thomas Nevyll and Sir John Nevill; but through the Treason and withdrawing of Peris of Lounde, the said Lord Egremont and his Brother were taken and put in prison at London; and in the yere following, that is to say in the yere of Grace 1454, on the 22nd day of Maye, at Saint Albones, was the sayd Henry Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas Lord Clyfford his Nephew, and many other slayne.”

The *first husband* of Lady Anne was SIR THOMAS HUNGERFORD, eldest son of Robert Hungerford, third Baron Hungerford and Molines. This Robert married Eleanor, the heiress of the Molines, and served in the French wars under the illustrious Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was taken prisoner at Chastillon; but being ransomed at a subsequent period he espoused Lancastrian interests, and fought at Towton, but was taken and attainted in 1 Edward IV (1461). The King, however, pardoned him; but on again fighting against the Crown, he was taken at Hexham, and beheaded at Newcastle in 1463.

His eldest son, Sir Thomas Hungerford, sided for a while with Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who then espoused the cause of Edward IV; but afterwards falling off, and exerting his influence for the restoration of Henry VI, was seized, was tried at Salisbury, 8 Edward IV (1469), and followed his father, after but a few years’ interval, to the scaffold which destroyed so many brave and noble hearts in England in the middle ages. This ill-fated nobleman married Lady Anne, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, by whom, according to the genealogists, he had an only daughter and heiress:—

Mary Hungerford, who married Edward Hastings, son and heir apparent of William, first Lord Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Her son, George Hastings, was

created Earl of Huntingdon, and is an ancestor of the Marquess of Hastings.

Lady Anne's *second husband* was SIR LAWRENCE REYNESFORD or RAYNESFORD, or RAYNSFORTH, Knt., of Bradfield, co. Essex, born in A.D. 1419, *ob.* in 1490,<sup>1</sup> aged seventy-one. He was the son of Sir William Raynesford, Knt., who died 12 Henry VI (1434), at which time Sir Lawrence was returned as of the age of fifteen years, and of Eleanor, daughter and heir of EDWARD BROOKESBOURNE, Esq., according to the imperfect pedigree given by Davy in Add. MS. 19,146, f. 53, one of his extensive series of MSS. of Suffolk history. The arms on the lady's mantle are quartered in reference to this marriage of her husband's father and mother, viz., *gules*, a chevron engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis *arg.*, for RAYNESFORD; quartering *gules*, three eagles displayed *or*, BROOKESBOURNE; of which Burke<sup>2</sup> gives a variant form under BROXBORNE, viz., *gules*, six eagles displayed, double-headed, *or*, armed *arg.* Davy does not record this Percy match in the Raynesford pedigree mentioned above.

SIR HUGH VAUGHAN, Knt., was the *third husband* of Lady Anne. Of him I find some notice in the contemporary papers. For example, 27 Sept. 1509, a royal warrant to John Young, Master of the Rolls, to cancel a recognizance made by Sir John Hotham to Henry VII for the safe keeping of the Castle of Mountorgueil by Sir Hugh Vaughan, Knight of the Body.

19 Aug. 1510. For Sir Hugh Vaughan of Middlesex, an exception from serving on juries.<sup>3</sup>

In the same volume, A.D. 1513, licences to import wine, etc., to Hugh Vaughan, Groom of the Chamber; perhaps the son of the above Sir Hugh.

The Harley MS. 1551, at f. 44, gives a very good drawing of the arms of Sir Hugh Vaughan, viz., quarterly, first and fourth, a fess between three nags' heads erased and bridled, within a border compony; second and third, per pale *bl.* and *sanguine*, three lucies' heads, etc. The following is a correct blazon of the arms which were granted to Sir Hugh Vaughan on 27 March 1508, pro-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Watling.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. Arm.*

<sup>3</sup> *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic*, vol. i, Rolls Series.

bably (from the appearance of *lucies' heads* in the second quarter) on the occasion of his marriage with the Lady Anne Percy. Quarterly, first and fourth, *az.*, a fess *or* between three horses' heads erased *of the last*, bridled *gu.*, within a bordure gobonated *arg.* and *vert*; second and third, per pale *az.* and *purpure*, three *lucies' heads* erased *or*; ingullant three spears *arg.* Crest, a lion's gamb *or*, holding a human heart *gu.* Supporters, two griffins per fess *gu.* and *az.*, platy and fretty *of the first*.<sup>1</sup>

"Sir Hugh Vaughan of Littleton in com. Mid., =2nd wife, Blanche,	
Knt., m. to his 1st wife, Anne, d. of Hen. E.	d. of Castellby, d.
of Northumberland, widdow of Thom.	of — Melford, ob.
Hungerford	1553

Anne Vaughan, <i>ux.</i> Nicholas Townley of Royle in com. Lanck.	Margaret	Anthony = Susan, d. of Vaughan   John Cranmer	Jane	Bridget
		of Littleton, 1593		
		Hugh	Alice."	

In Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4964, f. 47, we find tricks of arms of Sir Hugh Vaughan of Littleton in co. Middlesex, Knt., married to his first wife, Anne, daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, widow of Thomas Hungerford. Crest, on a wreath a lion's gamb *or*, holding human heart *gu.*

In conclusion, we may reflect, if we please, as good and true archaeologists, upon the many points of more than usual interest which seem to circle around this hitherto unknown portrait. It is believed to be the earliest contemporary portrait of a Percy now in existence. I cannot state positively that this is so; but if my informant, Mr. Watling, is correct in this point, what reflections we may indulge in! The warrior Percys of the early line, almost regal in their influence in the middle ages, have fought, and lived, and gone to their fathers. It has been reserved, as we are reminded by this portrait here figured, for the granddaughter of the gallant Hotspur to be handed down, in a more or less conventional form, it is true, but not the less typical of the times in which she moved, as

<sup>1</sup> Burke.

the earliest Percy of whose countenance we can study the lineaments. In the quiet of the church at Long Melford we may behold her kneeling on her cushion in a devotional attitude, figured, it is said, by one of the substantial family of CLORTON which flourished at Long Melford. Far from the ancient halls of her illustrious ancestors, the Lady Anne rests in effigy of glass in the quiet of a Suffolk village ; but the body rests in the grave of the historic church of St. Margaret, Westminster, under the shadow of the great Abbey, and under the shadow also of the Houses of Parliament in which to-day the head and the heir apparent of her exalted family devote themselves to the legislation of her country.

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## THE CROSSES AT ILKLEY.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read Jan. 2, 1884.)

(Continued from p. 172.)

## PART II.

## LIST OF MSS. CONTAINING CELTIC ORNAMENT.

IN the following pages I have given a list of the MSS. which contain Celtic ornament, together with the historical evidence as to their dates.

*The Golden Gospels of Stockholm*, in the Royal Library at Stockholm, contains a deed of gift which shows that the precious volume was bought by the Anglo-Saxon Earl Ælfred, and Wetburg his wife, from a Scandinavian Viking, by whom it had probably been stolen, and was presented by them to the Cathedral of Canterbury. This deed is signed by Ælfred, Wetburg, and their daughter Alht-ryth, who have all been identified by the will of Ælfred, which is attested by Ædered Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 871-89. The date of this MS. is thus previous to the middle of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Book of Durrow*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains an entry on the fly-leaf of the MS. itself, which shows that it was written by a person of the name of Columba. If this be the Saint of that name (which appears doubtful), the MS. must be of the sixth century. However this may be, the ancient silver-mounted *cumdach*, or cover, which is now lost, was made for it by the orders of Flann, King of Ireland A.D. 879-916.<sup>2</sup> The date of the MS. cannot, therefore, possibly be later than the end of the ninth century, and is probably considerably earlier.

*The Book of Kells*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains no entry by means of which its date may be fixed; but the fact that the *Great Gospels of Columkille* (the name by which this book was known) was stolen in the year 1006, is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*.<sup>3</sup> The date of this MS. cannot, therefore, possibly be later than the beginning of the eleventh century, and Professor Westwood thinks it may be as early as the seventh century.

*The Gospels of Lindisfarne*, in the Cottonian Library in the British

<sup>1</sup> Westwood's *Miniatures of the Irish MSS.*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Museum, has two Anglo-Saxon entries, one at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the other at the end of the volume, which show that it was written by Eadfrith Bishop of Lindisfarne; that Æthelwald Bishop of Lindisfarne made the cover for it; that Billfrith, the anchorite, wrought the metalwork for it; and that Aldred, the priest, over-glossed it in English, for the love of God and St. Cuthbert.<sup>1</sup> Eadfrith held the see of Lindisfarne from A.D. 698-721, and was then succeeded by Æthilwald, who held the bishopric of the island until his death in A.D. 740. We must, therefore, ascribe this wonderful volume to the last two years of the seventh century, or the first twenty-one years of the eighth century.

*The Book of Prayers of Bishop Æthelwald*, in the University Library of Cambridge, contains a very curious acrostic dedication, written in different coloured inks, to AEDELVALD EPISCOPUS; and there is also, in the latter part of the book, a *Versicularius*, comprising the commencing verses of all the Psalms, headed in red letters, "hoc argumentum forsorū (*i.e.*, versorum) oethelwald episcopus decerpsit." It is thus clear that the volume was written for Æthelwald, who was Bishop of Lindisfarne from A.D. 721-740, and who, as has been already mentioned, made the cover for the Book of Lindisfarne. This fixes the date as being the early part of the eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

*The Gospels of St. Mulling*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, has a precatory note at the end of St. John's Gospel showing that the scribe's name was Mulling.<sup>3</sup> The writer is supposed to be identified with St. Moling of Fearn, who died in A.D. 697. The date of this MS. is, therefore, the seventh century.

*St. Chad's Gospels*,<sup>4</sup> in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield, contains several marginal entries, one of which shows that the volume was purchased by Gelhi, the son of Arihtuid, from Cingal, for his best horse, and dedicated to God and St. Teilo; and another, that Godwin, the son of Earwig, fully and publicly cleared himself from the charge of fornication which was brought against him by Bishop Leofgar, and that his purification was made at Lichfield. Bishop Leofgar died in 1021. This MS. cannot, therefore, be of later date than the eleventh century, and Professor Westwood thinks it may be as early as the eighth or ninth.

*The Gospels of Durham*, in the Cathedral Library of that place, contains an inscription concluding with the name, "Aldred God biscop". Aldred succeeded Sexhelm as Bishop of Durham in A.D. 946; but Professor Westwood refers the volume to the early part of the eighth century, from its palæographical peculiarities.<sup>5</sup>

*The Cottonian Gospels* (Otho, B. 9), in the British Museum, only a few fragments of which have survived the fire in October 1731,

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, p. 34; Palæographical Society, Plates 3 to 6 and 22.

<sup>2</sup> Westwood, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Palæographical Society, Plates 20, 21, and 35.

<sup>5</sup> Westwood, pp. 48, 51.

contained numerous Anglo-Saxon memoranda, including one stating that the volume had been given by King Athelstan to St. Cuthbert's shrine, together with a miniature representing the King upon his knees before St. Cuthbert, caused to be painted by the blessed Evemenfiens. King Athelstan reigned from 925-941. This book must, therefore, be at least as old as the tenth century.

*The Gospels of Mac Regol*, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, has its last page divided into six compartments, four of which contain laudatory verses on the Evangelists, and the remaining two the name and intercessory request of the scribe Mac Regol. In the *Irish Annals* of the year 820 is recorded the death of a scribe of this name, "Mac Riagoil nepos Magleni, Scriba et Episcopus Abbas Biror". The date of this volume is, therefore, the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Gospels of Mac Durnan*, in the archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, has several charters of King Canute, containing grants to the cathedral church of Canterbury, written upon the blank pages of the MS., one of which bears a much earlier inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals, showing that the book was either written for, or was in the possession of, Maelbrigid Mac Durnan, and that it was given by King Athelstan to the city of Canterbury. Maelbrigid Mac Durnan was Abbot of Derry in the ninth century, and was afterwards Bishop of Armagh, to which see he was promoted in A.D. 885, and died A.D. 927. Athelstan ascended the Anglo-Saxon throne in 925, and died in 941. This book, therefore, belongs either to the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth century.<sup>2</sup>

*The Gospels of Treves*, in the Library of that Cathedral, has an inscription at the bottom of one of the illuminated pages showing that the writer's name was Thomas. Professor Westwood identifies this scribe with Thomas who was Abbot of the Monastery of Honau, upon an island in the Rhine, near Strasburg, between the years A.D. 750 and 770. If this be the case, which seems probable, the MS. must be assigned to the end of the eighth century.<sup>3</sup>

*The Book of Armagh*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, has the name of the writer, Ferdornach, inscribed in eight places. Ferdornach, "dictante Torbach herede Patricii" (the latter being the title of the Irish primate), was Archbishop of Armagh for one year only, A.D. 807. The date of this book is, therefore, fixed at the commencement of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup>

*The Great Psalter of Boulogne*, in the Public Library of that town, contains a curious acrostic showing that it was written by Heriveus in the Abbey of St. Bertin, decorated by Odbertus, and that Dodolinus supplied the gloss. Odbert presided over the Abbey of St. Bertin between A.D. 989 and 1008. There is also a special charter of this Abbey, from which it appears that several fine MSS. were executed by Odbert and his monks about the year 1003.

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.



This book, therefore, belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Book of Dimma*, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, contains the name of the scribe, Dimma Mac Nathi, written in several places. One Dimma Mac Nathi is frequently mentioned in the Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*. Another Dimma, whose grandfather was Mac Nathi, was requested by St. Cronan, who died in 621, to write for him a copy of the Gospels, which occupied forty days' and forty nights' incessant labour.<sup>2</sup> If this be the scribe in question, the MS. must be of the seventh century.

Summarising the foregoing, we have the following dated Celtic MSS. :—

*Seventh Century.*

*Circa* 621, Book of Dimma Mac Nathi; *circa* 697, Gospels of St. Mulling; 698-721, Gospels of Lindisfarne.

*Eighth Century.*

721-740, Book of Prayers of Bishop Æthelwald; 750-770, Gospels of Treves.

*Ninth Century.*

807, Book of Armagh; *circa* 820, Gospels of Mac Regol.

*Tenth Century.*

885-927, Gospels of Mac Durnan.

*Eleventh Century.*

989-1008, Great Psalter of Boulogne:

The above are the actual dates when the MSS. were written; but besides these we have other MSS. which are known by entries in the volumes themselves, or references to them in history, not to be later than the dates given in the margin of the following table.

*Not later than*

A.D. 871, Golden Gospels of Stockholm; 879, Book of Durrow.

A.D. 941, Cottonian Gospels (Otho, B. 9); 946, Gospels of Durham Library.

A.D. 1006, Book of Kells; 1021, St. Chad's Gospels.

The palæographical peculiarities of all the above MSS., however, tend to show that they are of considerably earlier date than the marginal entries whose ages have been ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.



Having discussed the question of the antiquity of the Celtic MSS., we next come to the works of art in metal of the same period.

#### CELTIC METALWORK.

The following are the specimens of Celtic metalwork whose dates have been fixed by historical evidence. They consist of *cumdachs* or book-shrines, bell-shrines, croziers, processional crosses, and penannular brooches.

*The Cumdach of the Book of Durrow*, although now lost, is known from a manuscript note made by Roderick O'Flaherty in 1677 to have borne an inscription to the effect that it was made by Flann Sinna, son of Malachy, and King of Ireland. Flann Sinna reigned between the years 877 and 916. The date of this *cumdach* is the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Cumdach of the Book of Armagh* is recorded, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to have been made by Donnchadh, son of Flann, King of Ireland in A.D. 937.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, of the tenth century.

*The Cumdach of the Book of Kells* is recorded, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to have been stolen, together with the volume it contained, in the year 1006. It must, therefore, have been made before the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>3</sup>

*The Cumdach of St. Molaise's Gospels*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Cennfaelad, the successor of St. Molaise, and Gillabaithin the artisan. Cennfaelad is recorded, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, to have been Abbot of Devenish from A.D. 1001 until his death in 1025.<sup>4</sup>

*The Cumdach of the Stowe Missal*, in the Ashburnham Collection, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Dunchad O'Fagan, a monk of Clonmacnois, and containing a prayer for Donchadh, son of Brian, and King of Ireland; also for Macc Raith, descendant of Donchadh, and King of Cashel. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Donagh, son of King Brian Boruhma, reigned from A.D. 1023-1064, when he was deposed. The date of this *cumdach* is, therefore, the first half of the eleventh century. There is another inscription upon the case, showing that it was repaired by Philip O'Kennedy, Lord of Ormond, in the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

*The Cumdach of Columba's Psalter* (called *Cathach*), in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Sitric, the son of Mac Aeda, for Cathbar Ua-Domnaill, and for Domnall, son of Robertach, the successor of St. Columba at Kells. Sitric, son of Mac Aeda, is mentioned in

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.



the charters of Kells, which are entered in the blank pages of the *Book of Kells*. He is there surnamed "Cerd", or "Artificer", and was one of the family of Mac-Aeda, who seem to have been the hereditary mechanics of Kells. Cathbar O'Donnell died in the year 1106. Domnall, son of Robertach, died in 1098, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and his name occurs in a charter of Kells, the date of which cannot be later than 1084. This *cumdach* may, therefore, be ascribed to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Cumdach of Dimma's Book*, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, bears an inscription to the effect that it was executed by the order of Thaddeus O'Carrol, King of Eli, and afterwards restored by Donald O'Cuanain; also that the reliquary was arranged by Thomas the artist. Thaddeus O'Carrol was chief of Eli between A.D. 1150 and 1220. The date is, therefore, the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

*The Cumdach of St. Patrick's Gospels* (called the *Domnach Airgid*), in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, bears an inscription showing that it was made by John O'Bandan, supposed to be the deacon of that name, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* in A.D. 1369.<sup>3</sup> This inscription refers to the outer cover, which encases another perhaps three hundred years older.

*The Cumdach of Cairnec'h's Calendar* (called *Miosach*), preserved in the College of St. Columba, near Dublin, bears a dated inscription showing that it was made by Brian, the son of Brian O'Muirgiussa, in A.D. 1534.<sup>4</sup>

*The Shrine of St. Lachtin's Arm*, the property of Mr. Fountain of Narford Hall, Norfolk, bears an inscription asking prayers for Melsechnaill, descendant of Cellachán, for Cormac, son of Macarthaig, for Fadg, for Diarniait, son of Mac Denise, and for the successor of Lachtin. Melsechnaill U. Cellachain was lord of Desmond, and his death is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* in the year 1161. Cormac Mac Carthy was King-Bishop of Ireland, and built Cormack's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel. He died in A.D. 1138. The date of this shrine is, therefore, the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

*The Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, bears an inscription showing that it was made by the orders of Thomas of Bramighem, lord of Athenry; and also has the names of five Irish saints, viz., Benon, Brigid, Patric, Columquille, and Brandan upon it. Thomas de Bramighem died in 1376.<sup>6</sup> This shrine is, therefore, of the fourteenth century.

*Macbrigde's Bell-Shrine*, in the collection of Mr. Robt. Day, jun., bears an inscription showing that it was made for Maelbrigde. This name is of common occurrence; but it is possible that the present one may be identified with Maelbrigde, son of Redan, and

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Bishop of Connor, and Abbot of the churches of Muckamore and Ahoghill, who died in the year 954. If this is the case, the shrine is of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup>

*The Bell of Ballynaback*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin, bears an inscription asking a prayer for Cummascach, son of Ailill, who has been identified with a steward of the Monastery of Armagh, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* in the year 904. This bell may, therefore, be ascribed to the end of the eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

*The Shrine of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will, Armagh*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Domnall O'Loughlin for Domnall, the successor of St. Patrick; that Cathalan O'Maelchalland was the keeper of the bell, and that it was covered by Cudulig O'Inmainen and his sons. Donnell O'Lochlain was King of Ireland from 1083-1121. Donnell Mac Aulay, the successor of St. Patrick, filled the see of Armagh from the year 1091-1105. The date of this shrine is, therefore, the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth.<sup>3</sup>

*The Crozier of Kells*, in the British Museum, bears an inscription asking a prayer for Cnduilig and for Melfinnen, who were both ecclesiastics of the Monastery of Kells; the death of the former being recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* in the year 1047, and that of the latter in 967. The date of this crozier is, therefore, the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>4</sup>

*The Lismore Crozier*, preserved in Lismore Castle, bears an inscription showing that it was made by Nectan, the artizan, for Niall, the son of Mac Aeducain. Mac-Mic-Aeducain was Bishop of Lismore from A.D. 1090-1113. The date of this crozier is, therefore, the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

*The Processional Cross of Cong*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, bears an inscription showing that the outside covering of metalwork, which is said to enclose portion of the true cross upon which the Saviour of the world suffered, was made by Mac-lsu Mac Bratdan O'Echan under the superintendence of Domnall Mac Flannacan U Dubthaig, Bishop of Connacht and Comarch of Chomman and Ciaran, for Therdelbuch O'Chonchobair, King of Ireland; and asking a prayer for Mureduch U Dubthaig, Archbishop of Ireland. It is recorded in the *Annals of Innisfallen* that in the year 1123 a bit of the true cross came into Ireland, and was enshrined by Turlough O'Conor. The death of Muiredach O'Duffy, Archbishop of Connaught, occurred, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at Cong, on the 16th of May A.D. 1150. King Turlough O'Conor reigned fifty years in Ireland. This cross must, therefore, be ascribed to the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup>

*The Killamery Brooch*, found in the parish of that name in the

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

county of Kilkenny, Ireland, is inscribed with the name O'Chiar-meic,<sup>1</sup> which was common, and has not been identified with any particular person known in history.

*The Ardagh Chalice*, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is inscribed with the names of the twelve Apostles. The letters are long, narrow, angular Roman uncials, similar to those on the coins of Offa, King of Mercia (A.D. 757-796), the *Gospels of Lindisfarne*, *St. Chad*, *St. Mulling*, *McRegol*, and the *Book of Kells*.<sup>2</sup> Its date may thus be as early as the seventh or eighth century, but it is probably later. This chalice is, without exception, the finest example of Celtic metalwork yet found.

*The Hunterston Brooch*, which was found in 1830, on the estate of Robert Hunter, Esq., of Hunterston, in the parish of Kilbride, in Ayrshire, Scotland, bears two inscriptions in Runes to the following effect: "Malbritha owns this brooch, Speaker in Lar." "This brooch belongs to Olfiti."<sup>3</sup> Both the names mentioned are common amongst the Scoto-Scandinavian inhabitants of the Western Isles; but neither of the owners has been identified with historical personages. The forms of the Runes are those used in the Isle of Man and Hebrides in the tenth century or thereabouts.

Summarising the foregoing, we have the following dated specimens of Celtic metalwork :—

*Ninth Century.*

877-916, Shrine of the *Book of Durrow*.

*Tenth Century.*

*Circa* 904, Bell of Ballynaback; 937, Shrine of the *Book of Armagh*; *circa* 954, Maelbrigde's Bell-Shrine; 967-1047, Crozier of Kells.

*Eleventh Century.*

1001-1025, Shrine of *St. Molaise's Gospels*; 1023-1064, Shrine of the *Stowe Missal*; 1084-1106, Shrine of *Columba's Psalter*; 1090-1113, Crozier of Lismore; 1091-1105, Shrine of the Bell of Armagh.

*Twelfth Century.*

*Circa* 1123, Processional Cross of Cong; 1150-1220, Shrine of *Dimma's Book*; *circa*, 1161, Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth.

In addition to the above specimens of Celtic metalwork, whose dates have been ascertained by means of the names of historical persons contained in the inscriptions upon

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, vol. ii, p. 589.

them, we have the following references in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to early art metalwork :<sup>1</sup>

*Eighth Century.*

A.D. 784, Crozier of St. Patrick ; 790, Shrine of Reehra ; 793, Shrine of Dochoimna ; 796, Shrine of St. Ronan.

*Ninth Century.*

804, Shrine of St. Patrick ; 822, Shrine of Congall ; 828, Shrine of Columba ; 830, Shrine of Adamnan ; 840, Crozier of Fedhlimidh ; 884, Crozier of Ciaran.

*Eleventh Century.*

1006, Shrine of the *Book of Kells*.

We next come to the Celtic works of art in sculptured stone.

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's *Irish Inscriptions*, vol. i, pp. 23 and 41.

(To be continued.)



## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 19 NOVEMBER 1884.

T. MORGAN, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Stephen Catterson, Esq., Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Thos. F. Peacock, Esq., 6 Mornington Crescent, N.W.

Robt. Nesham, Esq., Utrecht House, Queen's Road, Clapham Park, S.E.

Edward Laws, Esq., Tenby, South Wales

W. F. Laxton, Esq., F.S.A., 4 Essex Court, Middle Temple

J. W. Arrowsmith, Esq., Thanet House, 99 Whiteladies Road, Clifton

John Fuller, Esq., Redlands, Bristol

Rev. G. H. C. Scott, M.A., Rectory, Rhos Crowther, Pembroke

Harrison Green, Esq., Waterwynch, Tenby, South Wales

E. B. Matthew, Esq., 27 York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

J. L. Roget, Esq., 5 Randolph Crescent, Maida Hill

Rev. G. Huntingdon, M.A., Rectory, Tenby, South Wales

Allan Wyon, Esq., 2 Langham Chambers, Portland Place, W.

Mrs. Oldham, 25 Stanley Gardens, Notting Hill, W.

Wm. Uren, Esq., Clifton, Bristol.

Thanks were ordered to be returned respectively to the donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To A. C. Fryer, Esq., for "Aidan, the Apostle of the North." 8vo.*

*To Thos. Preston, Esq., for "Patriots in Arms." London, 1881.*

*To the Secretary of the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, South Kensington, for "List of Buildings in Great Britain having Mural Paintings." 8vo.*

*To M. C. C. Casoti for "Fortis Etruria"; or "La Civilisation Etrusque." Paris, 1884. 8vo.*

*To Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries", Parts XXIII and XXIV. July and October 1884.*



To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", Second Series, vol. ix, No. 3; and *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii, Part I.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Historical Association of Ireland." 1884.

" " for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Proceedings", vol. xxix, New Series, vol. ix.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fifth Series, Nos. 2, 3. 1884.

" " "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xvii, Part II.

" " for "Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Session 1883-4."

" " for "Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1882."

" " for "Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Cooper Union for Advancement of Science and Art, 23 May 1884." New York.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a carefully sealed diagram showing portions of the Roman bridge near Cottingham, on the river Trent, and read a paper upon it by Mr. H. Rolfe, which it is hoped will appear hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock also exhibited a collection of fragments of a stained glass window of the fourteenth century, at West Bere Church, near Sturry, co. Kent. Among the designs were noticed portions of drapery and geometric and floral patterns.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a stone hammer of compact quartzite, found at Bwlch Pen Barras, a quarter of a mile north of the Cambro-British camp on Moel Fenlli, and a mile and a quarter south of Moel Famma, on the north-west side of Ruthin. It has been partially drilled on each face, but the work is not completed. (See woodcut, next page.) Mr. Smith also exhibited a somewhat curved pestle of hornblendic grauwacke or hornblendic gneiss, 13 inches long, from Epping Forest.

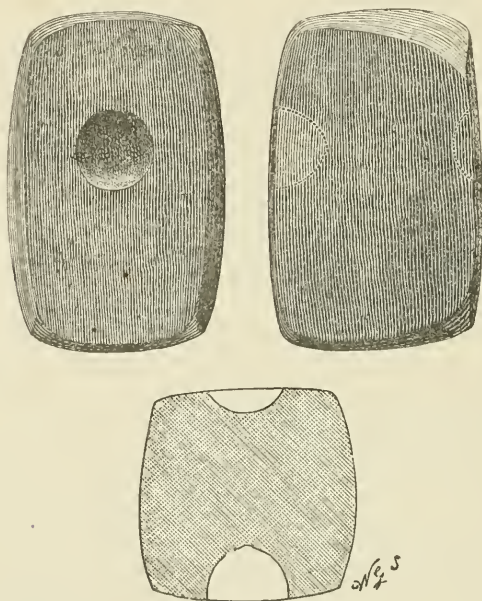
Mr. Arthur Cope exhibited a small collection of bookbindings, among others a specimen of the stamped vellum of the seventeenth century, and read some notes on bookbinding.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited and described a rubbing of the brass of Edward de la Hole, 1431, in the Oakwood Chapel, Oakley Church, co. Surrey.

Mr. Wright also pointed out that the maces of the Corporation of Tenby had been, since the Congress held there in the autumn, carefully repaired and secured in suitable boxes (with an inscription recording the Congress visit) against future injury, by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A.; and that Mr. Lambert had also repaired the maces of the borough of

Haverfordwest, which, like the Tenby maces, had been found in an unsatisfactory condition when the Congress visited the town. These works Mr. Lambert had carried out at his own expense.

The thanks of the Meeting were cordially tendered to Mr. Lambert for the judicious and timely care and trouble which he had so liberally bestowed on these interesting relics.



Stone Hammer found at Moel Fenlli. One-half actual size.

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a large collection of miscellaneous antiquities collected recently by him—(1), from Sussex, a bronze fibula, a bronze buckle, a bronze tang, a South Sea Island stone dagger, a bronze bell, a bone hair-pin; (2), from Trèves, an iron arrow-head, a crossbow-bolt, a small iron ingot, a small fibula, a bronze button, a large fibula of bronze with silver niello-work, and an object of uncertain use.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, read

#### TUNORBURY IN HAYLING, HAMPSHIRE.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

In the earlier part of the present year I was enabled to give some particulars of the British *oppidum* in the parish of Stoke Meon, called "Old Winchester". I am now in a position to draw attention to another overlooked *oppidum* in the same county; and for this privilege

I am also indebted to the services of Mr. Thomas Harris of Hayling, upon whose property this *oppidum* is situated. A few years since he introduced me to it; but this autumn I had a more favourable opportunity for examination.<sup>1</sup>

The peculiar and characteristic features of this *oppidum*, called "Tunorbury", are, its situation on low ground, and the manner in which its fosse was adapted to be filled by the sea at high tides. Most of the British *oppida* are upon hills or high ground; and, on one side at least, are usually protected by the natural steep acclivity of the site. This, in the Island of Hayling, is upon a tongue of land only slightly raised above the marshes; but this disadvantage was compensated by the admission of water into the fosse, which is of considerable width, and from 20 to 30 feet deep.

It is remarkable that in these days of archæological research such an interesting and probably unique monument should have remained almost unknown; and that even after attention had been drawn to it during the Congress of the Archæological Institute at Chichester, in a very attractive notice and plan which formed one of the exhibitions on that occasion; but, like other suggestive exhibitions and communications, it seems only to have left a barren record, which I now reproduce:<sup>2</sup>

"Plan of the circular entrenchment in Hayling Island, known as Tunorbury (area about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres), from actual survey and measurement specially made on occasion of the meeting of the Institute. This fortress, which appears to have been noticed only in the *History of the Hundred of Bosmere* (privately printed), is situated in a position very judiciously chosen, originally surrounded on three sides by tidal inlets, on the western side of the great estuary which forms Chichester Harbour. It is supposed to be a Saxon work." (The Rev. C. Hardy, Vicar of Hayling.)

The work referred to is by C. J. Longcroft.<sup>3</sup> It gives the diameter of the greatest width of the area as 250 yards; that of the narrowest, 200 yards; and the area as about 3 acres; so that the area of Mr. Hardy's plan must be taken to mean the entire work, including vallum and fosse. From Mr. Longcroft, Mr. Hardy appears to have adopted the notion that Tunorbury is of Saxon origin, a supposition as unfounded as that of Roman for "Old Winchester". What, if any, use the Saxons may have turned the *oppidum* to must be entirely a matter of conjecture.

The site of the *oppidum* must have been exposed on two sides, and

<sup>1</sup> I was accompanied by Mr. John Harris and Mr. William Law. To the former I am obliged for tracing the ancient embankment beyond the point to which I explored.

<sup>2</sup> *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. viii, p. 321. 1856.

<sup>3</sup> Published by J. Russell Smith in 1857.

partly on the third, to the high tides of the estuary; but on the north-east an embankment was raised across the marsh, which effectually shut out the water, and at the same time formed a road which led up by the side of the vallum to the entrance on the land side at the upper part. A deep cutting was then made in the centre of the side opposite the sea, which ensured the filling of the fosse. It has still a considerable depth of water, although the estuary has during the present century been also embanked.

A road passes through the upper part, or land side, of the *oppidum*, on what must have been the site of the ancient transit. The entire area is now covered with trees and brushwood. Both Mr. Harris, the tenant, and Mr. Padwick, the landlord, fully appreciate the antiquarian interest attached to this most interesting British or Celtic stronghold, which, hitherto overlooked, will now, through the medium of the Association, receive the attention it deserves.

Since writing the above, I have received, by the kindness of Mr. Hellier Gosselin, a copy of an engraving of the plan referred to. It was published in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* for 1873, together with a note which I must have written immediately after my first visit to Tunorbury in that year. I am unconscious of ever seeing that plan before. The *oppidum* is given on a very small scale, but correctly. The inner or ancient embankment does not appear. So I may consider myself the discoverer of this most interesting feature of the surroundings of the *oppidum*.

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Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on the "Roman Bridge recently discovered at Newark", which it is hoped will find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD DECEMBER 1884.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Edw. Laws, Esq., Tenby, was appointed a Local Member of Council for Pembrokeshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the Society for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xvii, Part III. November 1884.

Mr. Woodhouse exhibited a collection of foreign bronze medals:—  
1. *Obv.*, head of Napoleon; "Napoleon Empereur." *Rev.*, a view of Napoleon's tomb in St. Helena; "Memorial de St. Helena; 5 Mai MDCCCXXI; Paris, 15 Dec. MDCCCL." By A. Bovy.

2. A medal to commemorate the birth of the late Duc de Chambord.

*Obv.*, head of Louis XVIII. *Rev.*, a figure holding an infant; "Donum Dei Altissimi." By De Puymaurin.

3. Coronation medal of Charles X. *Obv.*, crowned bust; "Carolus X, Rex Christianissimus." *Rev.*, coronation scene, "Rex Carolus Cœlesti Oleo unctus", etc. By De Puymaurin and E. Gatteaux.

4. *Obv.*, head of King "Carolus X, Franc. et Nav. Rex." *Rev.*, the King on horseback, attended by three female figures. By Gatteau.

5. A medal to commemorate the death of Ferd. L. Philippe d'Orleans, who was thrown from his carriage and killed, July 13, 1842, leaving a widow and two sons. The Duc de Nemours was appointed Regent. *Obv.*, two heads; that of the Duc de Nemours, and the eldest son of the Philippe d'Orleans. *Rev.*, a long inscription. By Borrel.

6. A medal to commemorate the election of Napoleon III as President. *Obv.*, head of Emperor; above, an eagle bearing a chaplet; "De la Republique Française, L. Napoleon President." *Rev.*, an inscription and date, "10 Decembre 1848", in a wreath. By Montagny.

7. Medal to commemorate the alliance of England, France, and Turkey, against Russia. *Obv.*, three figures, Napoleon III, Victoria, and Sultan. *Rev.*, inscription. By Caqué.

Mr. Howlett exhibited a forged bronze medal from Rome. *Obv.*, head of king with antique crown, to the right. *Rev.*, a sow suckling seven pigs under a tree.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V.P., sent for exhibition photographs of an ancient wooden bucket with metal hoops, and inscribed with pentacles and other uncertain characters, communicated to him by Colonel Turner of Liverpool.

Mr. Romilly Allen forwarded a photograph (carefully taken by Mr. Bontoft of Ilkley) of an inscribed and sculptured Roman stone recently found at Ilkley, and notices of the same from *The Ilkley Gazette*, as follows:

"In the excavations which have been made in connection with the erection of various buildings in the modern Ilkley, as also in the prosecution of public works, a vast number of articles have from time to time been found of intrinsic antiquarian interest, such as broken pottery, vases, etc., many of them fine specimens of Roman art; and if there were not other valuable testimony written indelibly on stone, of the Roman occupation of Ilkley, these would most certainly point to such an occupation. But it appears that we have not yet reached the end of the unearthing of these singular landmarks of bygone times and peoples, for during the last week a number of valuable finds were made; and if the supposition concerning these proves correct, they will be valuable additions to the long string of evidence in proof of the occupation of Olicana by the Romans.

"Mr E. Wall, proprietor of the Rose and Crown Inn, Ilkley, having



decided upon making ornamental grounds at the rear of his hostelry, for this purpose it was necessary to carry out certain excavations, in the course of which the men engaged upon the work came upon an old rubble wall, and while clearing this away they found, about 2 feet down, a large block of stone which had been used apparently as a foundation for the wall. Care was fortunately taken in removing this (as instructions had previously been given for the men to exercise every precaution), and on turning it over it was found to bear evidence of rude carving. The stone was removed to a place of safety, the dirt adhering to it cleared off, and then it was seen that the stone bore a figure somewhat roughly sculptured, and an inscription below it. The stone is just 6 feet long, and measures 30 inches across the centre, which may be taken as its width. It is a rather massive piece of stone, and is in a very rough state indeed. The back (that part which fortunately was uppermost) has never been worked, not even squared, but resembles an ordinary flat piece of stone when got from the quarry. The face of the stone has, however, been squared, with the exception of about 15 inches at the base, which shows evident signs of having been below the surface at some remote period, when the stone was probably standing in its original position.

"The figure occupies about 3 feet, or one half of the entire stone. It is of a very rude character, representing a matronly dame (perhaps one of the mythological goddesses, though more probably a rough outline of the person to whose memory it was erected) with the right hand pointing upwards, while the left falls loosely by the side. Underneath is an inscription, the first two lines of which are all but obliterated, the stone showing evident signs of a fire having been kindled upon it; but the third and bottom lines are very plainly cut. The inscription, so far as can be made out, is as follows :

[DIS . MA]NIBVS  
VFI I'.....NCONI'SMISA  
ANNORVM XXX CCORNOVIA  
H . S . E

"The reading of the second line is conjectural ; but it is hoped that we shall be able, before long, to give a decipherment of it. The discovery of the relic would, indeed, be important if it should lead, as we hope it may, to the foundation of a local museum at Ilkley, where archæological relics could be properly arranged, and an impetus given thereby to the study of antiquity in these parts."

The Chairman then read the following—

## REVIEW OF THE TENBY CONGRESS.

BY THOS. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

The agreeable recollections of the Congress of this Society at Llan-gollen, in North Wales, seven years ago, have been renewed and usefully supplemented by a gathering in South Wales under the presidency of the Bishop of St. David's, the learned chronicler, in conjunction with Mr. E. A. Freeman, of the cathedral church and ancient see of St. David's.<sup>1</sup> Though this western portion of Pembrokeshire, by its distance from headquarters at Tenby, could not be brought within the usual week's programme, it was visited on three extra days, which followed the official close of the Congress at Tenby; but as it is said that the postscript to a lady's letter is generally not the least important expression of what has been passing in her thoughts, so in summarising our proceedings I shall venture to take the postscript first,—*"Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum"*, and open the scene at the holy well where it is said the fair Nona held meetings of a mysterious character with a prophet of God.<sup>2</sup> Her sins were forgotten in the glorious deeds of her offspring, who was no less a person than St. David himself, who converted the Welsh to Christianity. Whether his work was advanced by visible miracles or not, at least it was stamped in the end by the authority which arises from success.

The progress of Christianity under St. David and his coadjutors, SS. Aidan, Teilo, and Paternus, was little less than miraculous in the face of the long established traditions of ancient Rome.<sup>3</sup> Faith continued to abound, and wealth to accumulate in the hands of the Church, and the gauge of these successes is marked upon the tower of the Cathedral which, under Peter de Leia, in the twelfth century, scarcely rose above the roof. It was raised a stage under Bishop Martin or Gower at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and attained its present elevation under Bishop Lloyd in the seventeenth.

The extra three days of our excursion must, however, be noted in succession, beginning with Tuesday the 9th of September, when we visited a castle at Narberth in a ruinous condition, but grand from its

<sup>1</sup> Their work is *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, by William Basil Jones, M.A., and Edward Augustus Freeman, M.A. London, 1856. 4to.

<sup>2</sup> A chapel dedicated to her still exists near to the stone quarries of Caer-fai, whence came the purple limestone used for rebuilding the western end of the Cathedral; and this stone had been also employed for some portions of the interior.

<sup>3</sup> See Rees' *History of Welsh Saints and Biography of Wales*, published by the Welsh MSS. Society.

situation and history. Not far off we came upon the church of Llawhaddon, enshrined in foliage in a charming valley watered by the Cleddau, and resounding with noise of its fall. The fabric was interesting, and a monument to Bishop Hoton was seen within its walls (1389).

Thence, climbing a pretty steep road through a wood, the episcopal Castle of the Bishop of St. David's appeared before us, in all its grandeur, at the top of the hill; for the massive circular towers which flank the very lofty gateway are rare specimens even in this country of fortresses. It has been said of the reverend owners of this Castle that they were Barons at Llawhaddon, Bishops at St. David's, and country gentlemen at Lamphey. We shall have visited all three of these episcopal residences.

Thence, pursuing our journey to Picton Castle, through beautiful dales and combes clothed in ferns of great variety and luxuriance, we drove up to the Castle gate, which faces an avenue of old trees. Charles E. G. Phillips, Esq., and his amiable family greeted us in the great hall of the building, the walls of which were covered with ancestral portraits, owners of a property which boasts that since the time of William Rufus it has never been forfeited, never deserted, never burnt. Slebech is not far off, where once stood a commandery of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Mr. Phillips had prepared a banquet for our large party in the ancient hall of the Castle with true baronial hospitality,—a welcome diversion in a long day's journey; and we then wandered through the various apartments, examining the ancient for their architecture, and those fitted up in more modern style for many objects of art contained in them, including very rare original drawings of Michael Angelo and other Italian artists, his contemporaries. The emblazoned roll of the Phillips pedigree, in the library, might almost be called a text-book of the history of England. From the roof of the Castle a fine view was spread out before us, bounded in one direction by the Precellau hills which, running east and west, divide Pembrokeshire into two parts,—Wales to the north, the Englishry to the south; and distinctly was seen the junction of the two rivers named Cleddau, the eastern and western. The word, in Welsh, means a sword; and the Castle has been called the dagger between two swords. From the roof we penetrated to the lowest dungeon, admiring the early groined arches of the galleries and domestic offices as we passed through them. Mr. Phillips related an anecdote connected with the civil wars, showing us a window near the ground, in which the nurse, with a child in her arms, was sitting when a trooper from the Parliamentary army came up to the house (then in a state of siege) with a message, and found his opportunity of stealing the child, who turned out to be the heir of the house, and caused the surrender of the Castle.

Haverfordwest was our halting-place for the night; a small town or large village which can boast of a castle, an ancient bridge, the ruins of a priory, and a large, handsome church, besides two others of less note. The Castle, of which the outer walls of the keep remain, utilised as the County Gaol, overlooks the waters of the western Cleddau, and still presents a noble appearance, as we passed it, from the Railway. The church of St. Mary is one of the finest in South Wales, and possesses a clerestory seldom seen in Welsh churches. Among the monuments was a slab, on the south floor of the chancel, to William Waller, Esq. (1618), ancestor of the Lucys; and the lettering, within a niche on the wall, had this inscription:

“ We be-leeve  
That Jesus died and also rose againe,  
Even so them which  
Slepe in Jesus will God bring  
With him.”

Against the north wall of the chancel were two fine marble monuments of the Picton Castle family,—Sir John Phillips, who died 5 Jan. 1736; and another to Sir John Phillips, who died 22 June 1764, aged sixty-three.

The Priory on the banks of the Cleddau is in so ruined a condition that little of the work of the Black Canons remains, who established themselves here before A.D. 1200. A figure was dug up, supposed to be the effigy of David Cherbury, Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, who by will dated 1426 directed that he should be interred here, and left money to rebuild the cloisters.

Leaving Haverfordwest by a road parallel with the coast, we could not but deviate a little from the straight course to visit Roch Castle, standing aloft upon a rock, and built by Adam de Rupe in the thirteenth century. The spot was well chosen for resisting incursions of the Welsh. From hence the view takes in St. Bride's Bay and the barren islands of Skokholm and Skomer, and St. David's Head is seen in the far distance. We descend into the Rosy Valley, so called from Rhôs, a barren, bleak country, down to the Newgal Sands, where a bank of sand and shingle keeps off the encroachments of the sea. Passing this curious termination of a long valley, we have to ascend a steep hill, and are told that near this a tumulus conceals the remains of Poyntz Castle, or *Castrum Pontii*, once an important grange belonging to St. David's.

Passing through the village of Solva, the Cathedral of St. David's soon breaks in upon the sight. The road looks down upon it before arriving at an arch surmounted by an octagonal tower, under which the pilgrims used to descend down a flight of steps into the church; and they were not few in number, since two pilgrimages to St. David's

were considered the equivalent of one to Rome, and three were as meritorious as one to Jerusalem. William the Conqueror in 1079, and Edward I and Eleanor in 1284, were among the royal pilgrims.

The river Alan, which flows down the Rosy Valley, here divides the Cathedral from the ruined Bishop's Palace and remains of Henry of Lancaster's College. The Palace was the highly artistic work of Bishop Gower, who held the see from 1328 to 1347. We crossed the bridge over the river by which Henry II, on his return from the conquest of Ireland, passed, stepping on a stone named "Lochlever", where the old Welsh woman repeated the prophecy of Merlin concerning the said conquest. The stone has been rendered immortal in history by the circumstance, though no longer to be seen on the bridge. All that remains of the Palace are the outer walls surmounted by an open arcading or parapet; and a beautiful rose-window at the west end of the hall also attracts attention, and is in good condition; but the inside of the Palace no more, though made known to us by the vivid description of it given by the Bishop after the banquet to which he had invited us, and which was served under a tent in the middle of the quadrangle of his own Palace, which has no longer either chambers or roof. He described it as built in the form of the letter L, the kitchen being at the angle common to the east and south sides of the habitation. The hall was on the south, and the entrance to the building on the north. The chapel and oratory were entered from the outside by a flight of steps, after the manner of other domestic buildings in the county during the Edwardian period. The bell-tower of the chapel exhibits the good taste for which Bishop Gower's buildings were distinguished; and the whole work was finished in about A.D. 1342.

After the Right Rev. President had finished his description of a Palace well worthy of a Bishop of the fourteenth century, we were conducted into the Cathedral by the south door. The western portion of the church was rebuilt some sixty or seventy years ago, in a purple coloured limestone which presents a great contrast in colouring to the rest of the edifice; but this difference will be modified by the harmonising effect of age.

The Very Rev. the Dean received us in the Cathedral, and gave us a full account of its architecture, and of the men of old connected with its guardianship, beginning with Peter de Leia, the founder, who commenced the fabric about 1180, and describing the successive alterations till it attained its present form under Bishop Lloyd. In the thirteenth century "the aisles of the choir were prolonged far to the eastward, and connected towards their extremities by a cross-aisle having, on its eastern side, arches opening into (or prepared to open into) a Lady Chapel. By which arrangement a void space open to the sky was



enclosed between this cross-aisle and the east end of the choir, to avoid interference with the light of the east window."<sup>1</sup> In the next century this void space was converted into a beautiful chapel, though at the expense of the east window, which was thus lost. The fan-tracery of Bishop Vaughan's Chapel and Ambulatory is a fine example of late Perpendicular. Beyond this, eastward, the Lady Chapel was seen without a roof, and in ruins. This was erected about 1300, probably by Bishop Martin. Behind the high altar a perforation is carried through the very thick wall into the chapel behind, and communicates by two hagioscopes from the altar of the Holy Trinity, through the walls opposite, with the Chapels of St. Nicholas and St. Edward. The foliated perforation of the wall between the Chapel of Bishop Vaughan and the choir of the Cathedral was used for the purpose of looking on the portable shrine of St. David, which would be placed on the high altar when it did not rest on the altar-tomb, which stands in a niche on the north side of the presbytery. The small shrine containing the relics of the Saint might probably have been such an ivory box or casket as contained the bones of St. Petroc, seen at our Congress in Cornwall. This of St. David was carried about in procession on divers occasions, especially when the burgesses were bound by feudal ties to follow it for one day's journey. The altar-tomb for the shrine was erected in 1272 by Bishop Richard de Carew. The Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury was added to the east of the north transept in the thirteenth century, though a small portion only of the original structure remains. Here the Dean explained a number of relics found in disturbing the tombs during the progress of the works. These were two pastoral staff-heads, a chalice of thin silver, a gold ring with amethyst, a ring, some coins, and a paten, and other articles. They were from the tombs supposed to be of Bishop Carew (1280) and Bishop Beck (1293). Bishop Gower's remains were also found enclosed in a leaden coffin, and containing an ornamental pastoral head of brass. Not the least remarkable of the additions and improvements made to the Cathedral by the last named prelate was the deep rood-screen of stone, which is of peculiar construction, the interior being formed into chapels or chantries; two to the north of the entrance into the choir, dedicated to the Holy Cross and the Blessed Sacrament; and that on the south of it to St. John, in which are the tomb and effigy of Bishop Gower himself. The rood-screen is approached by five steps from the nave. In the middle of the presbytery is the altar-tomb of Edmond Tudor, Earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII, who died in 1456. His Welsh pride was shown in the deed among the muniments of Tenby,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Gilbert Scott's Report, quoted in Mason's *Guide to Tenby*, an excellent work to which Mr. Edward Laws has contributed much antiquarian information.

where he was described as the brother and father of kings, as was pointed out to us by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch in his description of those muniments. The body as well as this tomb were brought here from the Grey Friars, Carmarthen, at the Reformation; and the same description of him, as father and brother of kings, is engraved on the tomb. The Cathedral ceiling, of timber, is of singular beauty, and though flat, the pendants and carvings are "in a style of almost Arabian gorgeousness". The triforium arches and clerestory windows over have also a character of their own. The whole effect of the nave is one of extreme grandeur and beauty. The original state of almost hopeless decay and neglect into which the Cathedral had fallen before the recent restoration, must cause its present appearance to be an especial source of satisfaction to the Bishop and Dean, as well as to all those who remember it in its former condition, before Sir Gilbert Scott in 1863 seriously undertook the work, which was one of great difficulty, particularly as to the tower. This, from its deflection, had to be supported bodily upon timbers while the substructure was being firmly built up; and the superstructure itself was so cracked that it had to be bound together by iron cramps.

By the kindness and hospitality of the Dean and his family, eight of our party were entertained at the Deanery for the night. Some were able to find accommodation at their friends', and others at the hotels of the place, which is rather a village than a cathedral town.

Taking leave of the President and the Dean, who had done everything to make our visit to this distant foundation of the Church useful and agreeable, and to a Cathedral which exceeded all our expectations in this far-off land, we started the next morning to St. David's Head, the most westerly point of this westerly county; and here Mr. Edward Laws, notwithstanding the time and trouble he had devoted to the six days' Congress, came purposely to conduct us to view the works both of nature as well as art, with which he is familiar in this district. Early vestiges of Christianity are scattered far and wide in rude crosses, incised as well as sculptured, in stone. A specimen of the former was first seen on a stone used as a gate-post of the farmyard of Penarthur, having a cross within a circle of three concentric lines, attributed to some period between the eighth and eleventh centuries. There is also a name incised, and some letters besides.<sup>1</sup>

A walk of two miles and a half brought us to the Head, after surmounting, through a bleak country, many stone walls rudely constructed, without mortar, which subdivided the whole district. St. David's Head rises abruptly some hundred feet above the sea, and is cut off by two very ancient stone fortifications or parallel lines of ram-

<sup>1</sup> Figured in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1856; and see I. O. Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ*.

parts running nearly north and south, which present a formidable front to the land side, the entire breadth of the entrenchment varying from 75 to 100 feet. It was faced externally with regular masonry; and the facing remains in many places on the outer side of the rampart, and on each side of the entrance, which is 6 feet 6 inches wide. Within the rampart is a sheltered plain, in which are evidences of hut-circles placed close together, six of which remain; but there are indications of others. The largest is an irregular oval of 35 feet long; and two others are circular, having a diameter of 30 feet.<sup>1</sup> Huge masses of stone are lying about; and this Head has all the appearance of those cliff-forts or castles attributed to the Danes or Norwegians, whose presence on this coast is shown by many local names. A cromlech is seen at a short distance, at which we had no time to arrive.

The view from this point towards the south is striking. First, Whitesand Bay shines in its white outline; and beyond, in the remote distance, is Ramsey Island, between which and the main is a passage for vessels, dreaded by sailors for its rocks and currents. Further north appear, out at sea, one large rock and seven smaller, which are known as "The Bishop and his Clerks", the "Bishop preaching deadly doctrine", in allusion to shipwrecks upon it. The eight rocks may possibly have given rise to the Roman name, *Octapitarum*, for this Head, so called by Ptolemy, *Caput Octo Petrarum*.

We had to hurry hence back to Haverfordwest, where the party was to separate, full of good words at the success of this forty-first Congress.

The narrative must now be taken up at the first opening of the Congress at Tenby. We entered the county of Pembroke from Carmarthen, the *Maridunum* of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, and apparently the termination of the *Via Julia*, towards the west, at the date of that document; but some forty miles or more intervene before the traveller reaches St. David's Head, the most westerly point of Wales; but I can find no other authority than the very doubtful one of Richard of Cirencester for any Roman town of the name of Menapia. And as to Carausius being a Menapian, the Menapii were a people dwelling on the right bank of the Rhine, and whose countryman he is supposed to have been.

The two small forts, one quadrangular, the other round, near St. David's, the former of which has been supposed to be Roman, which were referred to in the President's address, were not visited.

To return to where the land falls away to form the Bay of Carmarthen on the east, a creek of the sea runs up to receive the waters of the Towy river; and near the junction of this stream with the Taff stands the ruined castle of Llanstephan, which probably occupied the

<sup>1</sup> Jones and Freeman.

site of a Roman fortress to guard the town of *Maridunum* from an attack by sea, and was one of the bulwarks made use of by Henry II. These lands fell, in time, to Henry of Lancaster, by his marriage with the family of the Bohuns. The seat of the native Princes of South Wales had been removed from Carmarthen higher up the river Towy, to Dinevawr, a place of greater security. It stood on a circular hill covered with wood, and looking down upon the river. Giraldus saw and described it before it was razed to the ground in 1194; but it was afterwards rebuilt. Connected with it seems to be the Castle of Caraig Cennin, which stands four miles from Llandillo, and is situated only about five miles from Dinevawr, and was probably an outwork for the protection of the royal seat of the Princes of South Wales.

Llandillo Vawr is a small town on the declivity of a hill washed by the Towy; but very famous, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan, as being near the site of the last battle between the armies of Edward I and Llewellyn, when the King of England gained a victory which finally completed the subjugation of Wales in 1281.

Carmarthen itself seems to have been constantly an object of attack and defence up to the reign of Henry II. In 1021 Llewellyn ap Seisyllt was slain here. In 1137 the Castle was destroyed by Owen Gwynedd; a few years after which it was rebuilt by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke. It was again destroyed by the sons of Owen in 1143, but was finally secured to the Plantagenets in 1171 or 1172, when Rhys ap Griffith (usually called the Lord Rhys) accepted from the King the office and title of Chief Justice of Wales. He died in 1196, and was buried, as is said, at St. David's Cathedral. Whenever a rebellion broke out in the following reigns, Carmarthen seems to have been attacked with more or less success.

The Railway carries us rapidly past these interesting spots, and we are soon landed at Tenby, on the western shore of the Bay of Carmarthen, the Coburg Hotel being the headquarters of the Association. On Tuesday, the 2nd of September, assembling at the Town Hall, and after a reception by the Mayor and Corporation, followed by the address of our Right Rev. President, the Bishop of St. David's, who gave a very comprehensive review of the antiquities of Pembrokeshire, Mr. Laws, the Local Secretary, undertook to point out the *notabilia* of the town.

The extinct earldom of Pembroke, on the death of the brothers Marshall, was restored to William de Valence in 1247; and this William had married Joanna, daughter of Warren de Munchensi, heiress of the property. His widow, at her death in 1307, was seized of Goodrich Castle, Castlemartin, Pembroke, and Tenby. This is the first time mentioned of the last place occurs on the inquisitions, being the earliest record of an official character relating to the town.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the documents printed in *Arch. Camb.*, from Inquis. 1 Edward II, No. 58, by Charles H. Hartshorne.



Proof may be adduced to show that the town walls and Castle of Tenby were erected under the auspices of William de Valence and his wife Joanna, who granted to the inhabitants that charter which has been the foundation of their liberties. The charter was confirmed by Adomar de Valence, who died in 1324, when he was seized of the county, vill, and Castle of Pembroke, the Castles of Goodrich, Haverford, Castlemartin, Abergavenny, and the vill and Castle of Tenby.<sup>1</sup> The town walls upon the south-west and north-west sides, the mural towers, and a gate remain tolerably perfect. On the opposite sides the sea and the cliffs rendered much assistance from art unnecessary, and the walls were therefore proportionably low. The north gate, which formerly stood in front of the Lion Hotel, is commended by Leland as the most perfect and beautiful gate of the town. The south-west gate is within a large semicircular tower or bastion of great bulk. There appears to be a covered way which extended throughout the inner circuit of the walls, to afford shelter for a second line of archers, for whom loop-holes are duly provided; so that if those on the top, behind the parapet, did not find themselves sufficiently protected, those in the covered way could still carry on the defence. This was very well seen by us in the gardens of the Lion Hotel. At a short distance from the south-west gate is a small semicircular tower, and near it a stone is inserted in the wall, inscribed "A° 1588, E. R. 30", in reference to the repairs made in the 30th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, being the date of the Spanish Armada. The difference in the masonry of the ante-Elizabethan work is very perceptible.

From the walls we proceed to the Castle Hill, a rocky promontory at the eastern extremity of the town, surrounded by the sea at high water. The view from this spot is very beautiful, with the rocky island of St. Catherine in the foreground; and to the north-east the view extends over the whole of Carmarthen Bay up to the Worm's Head, a promontory eighteen miles off. The ancient town of Kidwelly is sometimes visible near the water's edge. To the westward Giltar Point shuts out the view of the Sound between that promontory and St. Margaret's Island, which in the distance seems almost united to Caldy Island (the *Inis-Pyrr* of Giraldus). A memorial stone in Caldy Island records the name of Catuoconus, and is considered by Professor I. O. Westwood as not more recent than the ninth, and possibly as old as the seventh century, from the orthography, form of cross, and formula of the inscription.

Little now remains of Tenby Castle. The old keep is converted into a *Museum*, where we assembled to view the old charters and records of Tenby, spread out for our inspection, and which were explained in

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Hartshorne in *Arch. Camb.*



a lecture by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*. Among many antiquarian relics stored up there may be mentioned a good series of Roman coins found in Pembrokeshire; seal of the Prior of Haverfordwest; and a letter of Oliver Cromwell ordering the demolition of the Castle of Haverford; a plan of the French invasion on 22 Feb. 1797, at Garm, to the north-west of Fishguard Bay (the line of their march is shown, and place of surrender on 24th December); some interesting views, by T. Allen, of cromlechs in the county, with measurements of the stones; and a drawing of Carew Cross; a coloured print of Sir John Phillips, Bart., father of the first Lord Milford, 1748; another of Richard Gwynne of Taliaris, President of the Society of Sea-Serjeants, 1 August 1815; two human skulls discovered by Colonel Lambton in 1880,—one, that of a male in the Great Church Ways barrow at Bulliber; the other that of a female, in Freyneslake Barrow, Brownslade. These had a peculiar interest for us as we were about to see the former barrow opened; and, indeed, this was to be in our first day's work, on Wednesday the 3rd.

Passing Orielson, formerly the residence of the Owens, we arrived at Brownslade, and here, by the kindness of Colonel Lambton, he met us on his property, where the barrow is situated upon a sandy down much frequented by rabbits. Workmen with shovels and pickaxes were ready to make an opening. The earth thrown out was full of human bones; and at a depth, apparently of about 5 or 6 feet from the surface, a stone cist was reached of the size of a human body stretched out, having the head to the west, and feet to the east. On opening the cist a perfect skeleton was seen, over 6 feet in length. It had been slightly compressed, to fit the body into the cist, by which the vertebræ had been a little distorted. The teeth of the skull were very perfect. Except the human bones, no other object was contained in the cist; but lying about were many sea-worn pebbles used as missiles of war, which are found in great quantities in these barrows.

Along the top of the hill, towards the north-east, great inequalities in the surface of the ground, and stones lying about, proclaim the former existence of buildings here over a considerable space; and further on is an oblong enclosure formed by the basement of walls, in which there is an opening for the entrance. The mortar used in these walls, from its hardness, argues a very ancient date; but no other evidence could be given in support of the suggestion that this had been a chapel dating from the earliest times.

At a short distance from this spot was a camp with triple escarpments and intervening platforms, very perfect. It was on high ground, some miles from the sea-coast, which it overlooked. Towards this quarter the escarpments were directed; and at the back, towards the land, was a high earthwork, which might have served for an arx or

refuge; and across the central plain of the camp a slight elevation in the ground seemed to suggest that a rampart had at one time been thrown up here. The former work is characteristic of forts of the time of King Alfred, when they approached the Danish pattern; and the latter might be of more recent date. This camp may be compared, in some respects, with Cadbury in Somersetshire, said by report to be the Camalet of the illustrious King Arthur: at all events, both seem to have been held by the natives against foreign invaders. This fort, with its triple defence, facing the sea, affords a striking contrast to the cliff-castle of St. David's Head, where the fortified front faces the land, and shows the position to have been held by invaders from without, who had access to the sea in the rear, but had to put out all their strength to resist the attack of the natives from the land side.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Edward Laws had on a previous occasion found the primitive burial in the centre of the mound at Brownslade, which may claim a high antiquity. The stone cist we saw disinterred, and the numerous bones in the mound, were probably of much later date; and the barrow of the old heathens was converted into a burial-place of the Christianised villagers, as was often the custom, churches being sometimes built on the summit of such spots hallowed by the reputation for sanctity handed down from former generations.

The district around Tenby forms a kind of peninsula through being cut off northwards by Milford Haven and its meandering off-shoots. Brownslade is on its western coast, while on the eastern side lies Stackpoole Warren with its barrows and camp. We did not inspect a barrow here when we visited the locality on Friday the 5th. We did, however, see a large extent of ground on an elevated site, fortified all round by a vallum of stones built up without mortar; and the intermediate space was a perfect quarry of stones, scattered about without order, which seemed to indicate a very large settlement or village some time or other; but no account could be given of it.

We walked a considerable distance over this rugged locality, and saw one solitary stone standing upright, which may claim the character of "*maen-lir*", or hore-stone (from the Greek *horos*, a boundary). We had come over here from Lord Cawdor's mansion of Stackpoole Court, where we were cordially received by Colonel and Lady Victoria Lambton, who conducted us by a beautiful walk up to the rugged, stone-strewn country above described; and the contrast from the luxuriant forest-trees of every kind in the park of Stackpoole, and the ferneries

<sup>1</sup> This opinion as to St. David's Head Fort is not accepted by all, because it is said that it might as well have been a refuge for the inhabitants attacked on the land side: but then I think the analogy of the cliff-castles round the coast of Cornwall and North Devon strengthens the conjecture in the text, particularly as access to them from the sea is as precipitous as it is here.

along the banks of the stream which we skirted, to emerge upon the deserted village, was very remarkable.

Later in the day a cromlech was seen at Newton Burrows, not far from the road. The stones were well preserved, and built up with a sloping top-stone very much like that we had seen the day before on a headland overlooking the sea in one direction, and Manorbeer Castle in the other, a deep ravine dividing the two hills; and the cromlech was reached after walking about a mile from Manorbeer Church along the tangled side of the projecting acclivity. Tenantless now is the tomb where the body of some noble warrior once was laid in sight of the ocean, the scene, probably, of his exploits. No longer the lambent flames were emitted from the sepulchre to shine around at night, as they once were supposed to do, to guard the ashes of the dead.

Stone memorials, in the form of crosses, succeeded in time the ruder stone monuments, and we had two fine examples of these in the churchyard of Penally, near Tenby; and a still finer one, well preserved, and of very large dimensions, just outside the walls of Carew Castle. It has the interlaced, carved work of Roman design as well as the Greek fret-pattern, showing the continuity of British history; and an inscription, lately interpreted, is evidence of its having been a memorial cross, with the name of the person by whom or to whom it was dedicated.

The holy wells and springs of the Romans continued to furnish legends of miracles and of holy men, particularly as the cell of the hermit would hardly be tolerable without a neighbouring stream of pure water; and if the water possessed the healing or medicinal properties of the spring in Gumfreston churchyard, a perennial stream of miracles would naturally issue therefrom. The Cell of St. Govan was formed in the fissure of a perpendicular rock, a long way down from the summit, towards the sea; and near it, his well of pure water had a repute which outlived the Saint. A small chapel, of the thirteenth century, marks the spot where the hermit dwelt, and it may have occupied the site of an earlier sanctuary. The Stack Rocks issuing out of the sea on this southern coast; the overhanging cliffs rent here by some convulsion of nature, and there hollowed out by the scour of the waves into a Devil's Punch-Bowl, combine to give a charm to the locality which may well have influenced the Saint in his choice of a hermitage. The "Hunter's Leap" across a yawning cavity is a tale to make the blood run cold on looking down this bottomless abyss. We sought the haunts of St. Govan down a long flight of rock cut steps which it is said that no one has yet been able to count. From such small beginnings as the hermit's cell Christianity grew and flourished. The early struggles against heathen foes are traceable in the church towers of the district, which are built after the manner of castle towers, and have no entrance from the outside.

The separate description of the churches visited at Castle Martin, Angle, Rhos Crowther, Manorbeer, Bosherton, Gurfreston, St. Florence, and St. Nicholas at Monkton, will be given in the official report next year; but in general terms I may say that they differed in character from any we have seen in other counties. This appears to arise partly from the splitting and flaky character of the limestone of which they are built, and partly from the circumstances of the locality. The county was essentially maritime; so were its enemies from without. The churches have thick walls to support the stone vaulting peculiar to Pembrokeshire; the arches or openings into chancel or transept, where any exist, are of small dimensions; the rough material of the walls being covered with plaster, to render the surface smooth; and the church not being otherwise decorated by pillar, shaft, cap, or even a plain chamfer, the appearance may be truly called cavernous; yet there is something noble in these ancient remains of primitive worshippers. When extended, in later times, the walls were built up in similar fashion; and it is difficult to determine the date with so few characteristic details to guide the judgment. Their present appearance probably dates from the period of Henry II's conquest of Ireland, when this passage-ground of Wales derived the benefit of his civilising influences. The whole district from Gloucester, through Glamorganshire and the peninsula of Gower, has similar characteristics as to its churches, tower, and castles, which have been pointed out by Mr. Edward A. Freeman, M.A., in an article on the district of Gower in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The words of William of Malmesbury, in the time of Henry I, in using the name of Flemings instead of that of Easterlings or Danes, who had colonised and peopled the land during several hundred years, have caused some confusion through his statement being improved upon and enlarged by later writers; but it is not difficult for modern criticism to extract the truth from these accounts. The subject was mooted by Mr. Arthur Cope at an evening meeting.

The picturesque position of the eight churches referred to leaves an impression on the mind irrespective of the architecture. Castle Martin Church is looked down upon from the overhanging hill, which appears to have been escarped to make place for it; and the location is not unlike that of St. David's Cathedral. The old Vicarage, on the height, is built of very solid walls, and the accustomed stone vault over the ground-floor accords with the usual style of the day. At the springing of the roof are a capital and corbel, each carved with a grotesque head.

We were guided through the church by the Rev. C. Wilkinson, the Vicar, and the Dean of St. David's gave us the benefit of his intimate acquaintance with a parish which he had himself once administered.



Mr. Edward Scott conducted us to Angle, situated in the corner formed by the sea-coast and one of the bays of Milford Haven. The church has been rebuilt; but the parish is memorable as having been once ruled over by Giraldus Cambrensis, and has all the appearance of a fortified place defended by a tower, and by the water which was used to assist the defence.

A fine mediæval, circular *columbarium* of stone, surmounted by its doime, not far from the church, is admired as a good example of such dove-cotes.

From thence, skirting a bay of Milford Haven, we arrived at Rhôs Crowther, where we were welcomed by the Rev. George H. Scott, who has been vicar here for a long term; and we trust that his verses, in mediæval Latin, over the Vicarage door, may long be unfulfilled. He looks upon his house as Horace did,—

“Nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum  
Nunc mihi, nunc alii.”

*Sat. II, 2, 134, 135.*

The Vicar, being an antiquary, expatiated minutely upon the church, which boasts of an original stone altar-slab and a sanctus bell at the junction of nave and chancel. He told us that in the garden was found the shaft of a plain cross, which he caused to be inserted into the base, standing *in situ* in the churchyard. An inscribed stone let into the wall at the entrance-gate of the garden is so defaced by age as to be illegible. The only clearly defined mark, on a hasty inspection, being the broad arrow cut by the Ordnance Survey Department. Nothing could be more picturesque than the lawn of the Vicarage garden, where refreshments were set out for us by the kind hospitality of the Vicar and his family.<sup>1</sup>

Bosherston and Gumfreston churches were characteristic both as to the buildings and the towers. The latter church was described by Mr. Lynam, and illustrated by drawings of Miss Smith, daughter of the late Rector. A painting on one of the walls was shown to represent St. Lawrence, with gridiron and other attributes, and was said to be of post-Reformation date. A small bell was also exhibited. The plain glass windows which had been inserted showed off to advantage the colours and reflections of the foliage outside, under an autumn sky, and contrasted favourably in this respect with the inferior coloured glass sometimes inserted in modern restorations. This circumstance was pointed out by the Rev. George Huntington, the Vicar of Tenby, and is certainly confirmed by experience.

<sup>1</sup> This charming spot may have inspired the son of the house, and our guide for the day, Edward J. L. Scott, Esq., M.A. Oxon., and Assistant Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, with that spirit of poetry which has called forth the *Eclogues of Virgil in English Verse*. London, 1884.



The Rev. A. H. Wratislaw did ample justice to his own church of Manorbeer, visited after we had seen the Castle, and in describing it he pointed out the peculiar position of the tower, in the angle between the north transept and chancel-walls.

St. Florence was seen on another day, and the Rev. E. J. S. Rudd gave us the history both of the church and the Saint.

It remains to be said that the church of St. Nicholas at Monkton was visited on the day we saw Carew Castle. It is one of the "cavernous" churches; but the great interest it had for us was in a thick eastern wall which separated it from a roofless building behind which had been the church of the monastery. An opening had been made in the wall, and it was suggested that the whole wall should be taken away, and the large building in the rear added to the church. Such a proceeding was strongly protested against by Messrs. Brock, Lynam, and the rest of our party, as it would destroy the most ancient wall of the building, and at the same time do away with two large paintings upon it, which are ancient and of interest.

The Rev. Mr. Bowen listened to the discussion with much interest, and gave his opinion upon the subject of the wall. He also conducted us over his Rectory House, which is very ancient. The groined arches of the old hall, now filled with modern furniture, resembled the groining in the lower part of Picton Castle. This was formerly the house of the Prior.

Penally Church, near Tenby, was another interesting specimen of these churches, and had much stained glass in the windows, of modern as well as ancient art.

St. Mary's Church, Tenby, does not come under the same category as those which have been referred to. It is one of the largest in Wales, but has little of the local character, except the tower, which has been added to by the erection upon it of a stone spire, which, however, beautiful as it is in itself, does not seem quite to harmonise with the Pembrokeshire tower. The extension of the original church was clearly pointed out by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock; and a similar extension was shown us in Manorbeer Church by the uncovering of a concealed window in the wall which originally had been the outer one of the church, but now is the boundary of nave and south aisle, the latter having been thrown out. The nave as well as the north and south aisles of Tenby Church have each a gabled roof, which gives it a picturesque appearance; and in the churchyard are seen interesting remains of the monastic buildings.<sup>1</sup>

Another church, Hodgeston, visited under the guidance of the Vicar,

<sup>1</sup> The substance of the Rev. Geo. Huntington's sermon preached on the occasion of our visit has been printed in Mr. Edward Walford's *Antiquarian Magazine* for November 1884.

has a tower and spire also unlike the primitive churches before referred to, and reminds us of the elegant style of Bishop Gower in the reign of Edward IV, whose superb Palace at St. David's has been spoken of. And on this same day, Thursday the 4th, we visited the Palace of Lamphey, built by the same lordly prelate; and grand is the edifice even in ruins. Its outer walls are in two blocks, one of which is surmounted by an arcade, which, standing out against the sky, shows off its features and extent. The chapel and other apartments can be traced, and in the interior of a quadrangle is a small building which, with its arcading to crown the walls, resembles the larger edifice. Henry VII, when Earl of Richmond, was entertained here on his way to Bosworth; and his son made it over to Viscount Hereford, afterwards Earl of Essex, from whose heirs it passed to the Owens of Orilston. The present proprietor, Lewis Mathias, Esq., has a fine mansion near to it, and entertained us under his roof with refreshment, after a long day's work, gratifying us at the same time with the sight of many objects of *vertu*, china, cabinets, etc., with which his residence is filled.

The domestic architecture of the Edwardian period, the fourteenth century, is seen to advantage in this county, from the many examples still remaining; the best being, perhaps, that of Jestington, or Eastington, near to Rhôs Crowther. The ground-floor is covered by a stone, arched vault, and the door to the first floor is entered by a flight of steps from the outside. Slits or loopholes serve at the same time for light as well as defence. Here, over the arch on the first floor, was a paving of cement traced over in geometrical patterns by way of ornament, and the whole design remains very perfect.

We saw many other examples with the characteristic, large, circular chimneys upon a quadrangular base, particularly at Lydsted. Sepulchral monuments in the churches present, in the case of figures without lettering, those typical characteristics which establish the correct date, and so often run counter to that attributed to them, though sometimes erected to the memory of some ancestor who had died long before. There is an instance, probably, of this in the figures of two mailed knights of the latter part of the fourteenth century, in the presbytery of St. David's Cathedral. These have been attributed to Rhys ap Gryffydd and his son, though the former died in 1196, and the latter in 1233; but Sir Richard Talbot, who died in 1396, and his eldest son Gilbert, who was fighting in South Wales for Henry IV in 1405, maintained their title to the earldom of Pembroke; and being descended from the before named, it has been suggested<sup>1</sup> that it was probably they who placed these figures to their ancestors, Rhys ap Gryffydd and his son, over the spot where they were buried.

<sup>1</sup> Jones and Freeman, *History of St. David's*.

A similar reason might, perhaps, be given for the reputed figure of Elidur de Stackpole in Cheriton Church, who lived in the twelfth century, but whose effigy proclaims the fourteenth as the date when it was sculptured.<sup>1</sup> Not earlier than this period is also the cross-legged figure of a knight, representing one of the old Barr family, in the chancel of Manorbeer Church. Perhaps the earliest monument in the churches visited was an incised slab in the south choir aisle of St. David's, to Silvester, a medical man, in rhyming Latin; similar to one in Great Malvern Priory Church, also to a member of the same profession, and in Lombardic characters. The inscription is—

SILVESTER MEDICVS IACET HIC EIVS[*que*] RVINA  
MONSTRAT QVOD MORTI [*non*] OBSISTIT MEDICINA.

On the top of the above has been laid a broken slab of oolite with figure, in low relief, of a priest in eucharistic vestments, holding a book in his right hand, which has been assigned to Giraldus Cambrensis, but is of much later date.

Among the beautiful tombs in the church at Tenby are two to the memory of Thomas and John White, great merchants of Tenby, which are historical, as these men occupied high public positions, and during eighty years members of the family filled the civic chair of Tenby. During the mayoralty of Thomas, A.D. 1457, the rebuilding of the town walls took place; and he entertained, and assisted the flight of the young Earl of Richmond with his mother and Jasper Earl of Pembroke, after the battle of Tewkesbury, for which he was afterwards well rewarded. Thomas White died on 8 May 1482. The two altar-tombs have each laid upon them the effigies, which are good representations of the civil costume of the time, with hats having long scarves attached, slung over the left shoulders. Gypcières are fastened to the right side of their buckled girdles. On the side of the altar-tombs, sculptured in alabaster, are many figures representing scenes of life connected with the family, and the saints, their special protectors; while the children of each, boys and girls, are represented in the attitude of prayer. It is a remarkable circumstance that a descendant of this family should at the present day, after the lapse of four centuries, reside on almost the exact spot, occupy the same cellars, and be, like his ancestors, a wine-merchant.

A Jacobean monument against the wall of the north chancel-aisle is a good specimen of its class; the figures, as usual, painted in colours. It was erected by Thomas ap Rees, of Scotsborough, to the memory of Margaretta Mercer, his wife, A.D. 1610. He is in armour, kneeling, and his wife reclines on his right side, her head resting on a cushion.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. E. Brown, Rector of this church, pointed out an inscription on a stone in the south chapel, on which is an inscription which could be read with difficulty. He interprets it as

CANVLORIS —  
FILI FANNVC —

The male figure is smaller than life; the female of the natural size. Thomas ap Rhys was the great-grandson of David, a son of Rhys ap Thomas, who played an important part in establishing Henry VII on the throne.

Of priests in eucharistic vestments we saw several good examples, as Bishop Gower and two others in the rood-screen chantries of St. David's, and Bishop John Morgan on the south side of the nave of the said Cathedral, who died in 1504; the vestments being well portrayed; that is, the chasuble, dalmatic, alb, stole, and maniple, with rich mitre on head, and pastoral staff in hand. At the head is a griffin. The female attire of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is well exemplified in two figures at St. Mary's, Tenby, and one in the ruined chapel opposite Upton Castle and elsewhere, to which attention was called by Colonel Bramble.

The mailed knights and their ladies lead us by an easy transition to the castles where they resided, or which they might have had to defend. South Wales bristles with ruined castles; but the three following, visited in succession, Manorbeer, Carew, and Pembroke, still retain good indications of what they once were, through the preservation of the outer walls and flanking towers which still prominently crown the heights, even though the internal arrangements have almost disappeared. The first seen was Manorbeer, which has been described in glowing terms by Giraldus de Barri, who was born here in 1146. He refers to the fishponds, the orchard, the vinery, and the situation, as combining to make it the pleasantest place on earth.

The architecture of the castles will be described next year by an abler pen than mine, as well as the various alterations in the internal arrangements which, speaking generally, indicate the political activity of the Marshalls and Valences, of the days of Henry IV and Owen Glendower, with the subsequent changes of the Tudor period, when they assumed the more peaceable appearance of domestic residential castles.

Manorbeer, in the nineteenth century, has been occupied by smugglers as well as bulls and sheep, but is now well cared for by Mr. J. R. Cobb, the present tenant, who occupies part of the original building. A question arose as to the origin of the name, which Giraldus writes "*Maenor Pyrr*". Several guesses have been made; but if *byre* in some of the German dialects means a farm, then the "*manor-farm*" would be an intelligible appellation, and similarly "*Ynys*". "*Pyr*", the name given by the same writer to Caldy Island, would become the "*farm-island*". At the same time, "*Pyr*" or "*Berc*" might well have been a corruption of the name of Barri, that of its early lords. It is now pronounced "*Manorbyre*" by the natives, who also give the sound of "*Carey*" to what we write Carew Castle, a fortress washed on two sides by a creek of Milford Haven.



History carries its origin to Gerald de Windsor, Castellan of Pembroke temp. Henry I. It is approached by a fine gateway, and on the opposite side of the quadrangle are the state apartments and banquetting hall where Henry of Richmond was received, on his way to Bosworth Field, by Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who then owned the Castle. The Tudor architecture on the north side of the building facing the river is very dilapidated; the mullions and transoms of the numerous windows threaten to fall and bring down the oriels bodily if not attended to.

Under one of the groined arches of the Castle a banquet was prepared for us by the liberality of Charles Allen, Esq., brother of the Dean of St. David's, our kind entertainer there. The good cheer was much enhanced by the cordial reception given us by Mr. Allen, who himself presided on the occasion.

Since returning home we have had to sympathise by letter with the Dean of St. David's on the death of his said brother, Mr. Charles Allen, who entertained us so hospitably at Carew Castle, and died recently, deservedly respected.

In the afternoon, Henry Halford Vaughan, Esq., threw open to us his residence, Upton Castle, which, though modernised, still retains its portal and two circular flanking towers in the style of Llawhaddon, on a smaller scale. Tea was provided in his comfortable library, where many choice editions of works, ancient and modern, were shown. In the old, disused chapel opposite the Castle, Mr. Vaughan kindly read us a paper on two interesting monuments there, of the fourteenth century, with a discourse on armour and costume generally.

The third castle referred to is that of Pembroke, which exceeds the other two in extent and grandeur. Here Leland was shown the chamber where Henry VII was born in 1456, marked by a chimney bearing his arms; but we had another pointed out as the identical room. The Castle belonged to Jasper Tudor, his uncle, on whose attainder, in 1461, it was granted, with the earldom, to the Herberts. A natural cave under the Castle leads to a sallyport towards the water, and in it is a well which supplied the Castle with water. It stood a siege of six weeks against Oliver Cromwell, who captured it on May 8, 1648; and one of the defenders, drawn by lot, was Poyer, the Mayor of Pembroke, who was shot in Covent Garden the following year.<sup>1</sup> We proceeded to the further side of the building, where stands the old keep, a circular tower with a vaulted dome over it. It had been divided into five stories by timbered floors, the stairs being within the walls as far as the first floor; but to the basement there is no such communication,

<sup>1</sup> See Phillips' *Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, and a short account of the same as to *Tenby and its Neighbourhood*, by Edward Laws, Hon. Secretary of the local Museum. 1881.



which must have been entered from without; and a vaulted roof probably divided it from the first floor, which would also have access only from the outside. The excavations which have lately been made have been the means of ascertaining this point, as well as of opening up a building outside, supposed to have been an early chapel, as also of bringing to light leaden pipes connected with the early water-supply of this part of the Castle, which appears to be very old, Roman tiles being inserted in the basement of the keep, and its walls being 17 feet in thickness below, and 14 above. Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock discoursed to the party standing within the empty keep; and looking upwards, the dome-like stone roof could be seen, still perfect, 75 feet above our heads.

It only remains for me to express the satisfaction which was felt at the manner in which we had been received by the *savants* of Pembrokeshire, headed by the learned Mayor of Tenby, W. H. Richards, Esq., and the Town Council, who had placed the Town Hall at our disposal for the evenings, and brought, together with the Corporation plate, maces from Haverfordwest and Pembroke, which were discoursed upon by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., with many interesting details.

Mr. Edward Laws, our Local Secretary, was indefatigable in giving us the benefit of his great antiquarian knowledge of the county and of its history. At the evening meetings, too, which were well attended, he introduced many subjects for discussion; and in his paper on the Gwyddyl and the Gael he introduced a tangled skein of Celtic lore which may yet furnish many a discussion in the future, until the appearance of some *deus ex machinâ* shall cut such a complicated knot.<sup>1</sup>

A degree less complicated than this was the question of place-names, their origin and their meaning. Passing Pembrokeshire in review, Sir James Picton could point to many of undoubted Danish origin, as did also the President in his address, naming Stockholm and Skomer, Haverfordwest, Milford, Fishguard, and Hasgard, and expressing some doubt whether Tenby might not be of Scandinavian origin.

Sir James Picton, in his rather free interpretation of some others, called forth Mr. W. de Gray Birch's warning not to trust too much to apparent derivations, unless confirmed by documentary evidence at known chronological periods, and he showed how mistakes might be made in this way. That of "Cam-bridge" from "Grantabrigia" was, perhaps, not so happy an example as that of Oxford, which drew forth a learned article on local names in *The Times* newspaper of October 8, 1884, a portion of which I will quote:

"There was a time, beginning in the twelfth century, when learned

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of the subject are admitted in the learned work, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, by the Rev. W. Basil Jones, M.A. London, 1851.

curiosity set to work to make British names for English towns, and to quote such fictions as if they were the true originals. The result has been a confusion from which the subject has not yet recovered. In this way the Welsh name for Oxford is *Rhydychain*, from *rhyd*, a ford, and *ychain*, oxen; and this was Latinised into *Urbs Rhedicina*. In the thirteenth century it appears in the *Mabinogion* in the form *Rytychen*. A correspondent who writes from Welshpool does not seem to be aware that this name is artificial, and stands on a totally different footing from the Welsh names he quotes from near the border, as Trallwyn (town of the pool) for Welshpool, Trefaldwyn (Baldwin's town) for Montgomery, and Pengwern for Shrewsbury. In these cases the Welsh names seem to be original, and two of them altogether independent of English names. In the case of Welshpool the English name seems to be a translation of the Welsh. Thus we see that there are British names for English towns, which are genuinely British, and a true part of the Welsh tradition. There are others that have been made artificially, of which Rhydychain is one, and Ynys Vitrin may possibly be another."

Thus, to archæologists a knowledge of the Welsh language is as necessary as it is to clergymen appointed to benefices in Wales. This was apparent to a writer of a letter to Archbishop Tenison in 1703, among the MSS. of the archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, in which the writer says, "when we had bishops that could preach in Welsh, it did keep the unity of the Church as well as any part of the nation." The present Bishop of St. David's, our President, very properly considered the question of Welsh-speaking clergy on a recent appointment to the living of Llangattock; and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., Librarian of the Lambeth Palace Library, is my authority for this assertion.

In conclusion, I may remark that one of our Honorary Secretaries, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., never more cordially exerted himself, giving a running commentary on the architecture of the churches and other buildings, and devoting his special attention to the history and architecture of the castles. Our other Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., was not less at home in describing the seals and archives of Tenby and Haverfordwest, dedicating much time to them on two occasions. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, was even more energetic than usual, with great difficulties of distance to contend with, in bringing, as he did, to a successful issue, by the co-operation of Mr. Edward Laws, this second Congress in the Principality, under the patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and the presidency of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's.

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*Note.*—Since the above was written, Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock has

furnished me with the following architectural details as to the west front of St. David's Cathedral:—

“The western portion of the church was rebuilt some sixty or seventy years ago; but this is again in course of rebuilding in the purple coloured stone referred to. The design is Norman in style, copied from a sketch made by the elder Pugin from the old west front before it was taken down. The original design is thus restored to the church as nearly as may be. On taking down the recent front it was found that the projecting western buttresses contained some wooden shores which had apparently been placed in haste against the original front to keep it from falling, and built around afterwards by the new masonry.”

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Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, then read an interesting paper on the “Maundy Ceremonies”, and exhibited a wooden bowl used for distributing provisions, a piece of linen towelling representing the washing of the poor people's feet, two drinking-cups, and a large collection of Maundy money, some of which was specially exhibited by Mrs. Arthur Cope in connection with this paper; as well as a complete set from Charles II's time, in good preservation, by Dr. T. J. Woodhouse of Fulham.

An interesting discussion ensued, in which Mr. Bidwell (Sub-Almoner), Mr. Birch, and Mr. Compton took part. Mr. Arthur Cope also made some remarks on the curious custom of levying “deodands”, which formed, as Mr. Wright had explained in his paper, a portion of the funds of the royal charity.

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

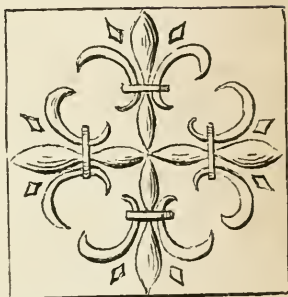
*Surrey Bells and London Bell-Founders: a Contribution to the Comparative Study of Bell-Inscriptions.* By J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT. (London: E. Stock, 1884.)—The literature of bells has always been attractive, and the few notices of bells and bell-inscriptions that have appeared from time to time in our columns have not been the least interesting subjects of which archæology takes cognizance. Of the origin of bells little is known; but there can be no reasonable doubt that the capability of sheets of certain metals to transmit, when struck, sounds to a considerable distance was well and universally known at a very remote period. In this form the bell would be rather a gong than a bell, and it is found extensively in use among Oriental peoples. The turning in of the edges of a sheet of metal, to enclose a



1.



2.



3.



4.





loose ball or stone, forming a clapper, is a later form of the bell; and the conoidal or cup-like form of bell, properly so called, whether with or without an attached clapper, later still; although even this advanced form of the object is found in the ruins of Assyrian palaces, and among the *débris* of many an Eastern city or cemetery. But of the bell in its oldest aspects Mr. Stahlsehmidt does not treat. He is content to leave this to the archæologist, and devotes his book to those who, having more or less acquaintance with the comparative history of bells, can scarcely fail to feel desirous of knowing more about the bell-founders of London.

The author's researches have been extensive, and he has been greatly assisted, as he tells us, by all those with whom his studies brought him into contact. At the end of the thirteenth century the family of the Wymbishes appear as the earliest well authenticated bell-founders of London. Two bells at Bradenham, co. Bucks., with elegant inscriptions, yet remain to testify to their work. Richard de Wymbish, a member of this family, leaves six bells in different localities. Other names follow that have been recovered by Mr. Stahlsehmidt during the progress of his researches. The notices of William Founder are of peculiar interest. His bells are found in various parts of England; and it is universally believed that he was a London man. The evidence points to his date being about A.D. 1400. Fig. 2 is a representation of his foundry-stamp, a trefoiled branch with two birds regardant upon it, and the inscription, "+ William . Ffounder . me . fecit." This part of the work concludes with a full list of London citizens who may have been bell-founders, with their dates, derived from notices in the City Records. The names range from 1150 to 1418, when the antiquity of the subject is merged into the general history of the art of the bell-founder.

Part II of this interesting work is devoted to a categorical examination of the church bells of Surrey, a county containing 388 churches and chapels, with a total of 1,038 bells, the important ones being thus classified:—(1), pre-Reformation bells, 22; (2), post-Reformation to the end of the sixteenth century, 13; (3), seventeenth century, 134; (4), eighteenth century, 260; (5), modern, 250; (6), uncertain date, 15.

The author gives the first place, in his critical examination of the oldest and finest bells, to that at Chaldon. It is in shape very like a common flower-pot, but the crown rather spherical, the sides straight, ending with an abrupt curve, and apparently of uniform thickness. It is inscribed, "*Campana beati Pauli*", and may be older, but not later, than 1250. At Wotton two ancient bells, of late fourteenth century, have the initial cross here figured. (Fig. 3.) The third bell, at Chiddingfold, has no initial cross, but the R. L. founder's shield, with bell and merchant's mark. (Fig. 5.) The full name of this founder

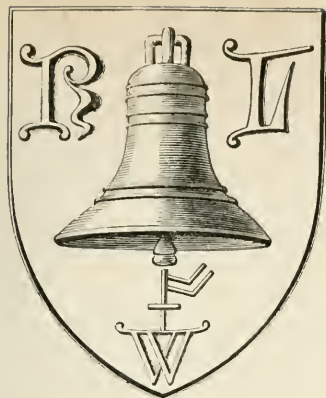
of the period of the fifteenth century has not been discovered. The third bell, at Merrow, bears an octagonal medallion (fig. 1), having a large cross fleury upon a cusped lozenge with points fleur-de-lisés, and inscribed, "Ih'u . merci . ladi . help." The author proposes to ascribe this to Giles or Henry Jordan, probably the latter. Two Surrey bells (one at Chobham, the other at Wimbledon) bear the well known shield (fig. 7) of William Culverden, brazier, of London, who died in 1522. The shield bears the text, "In domino confido", together with the merchant's mark; the rebus on his name, a *culver* with the letters *de'* over it; and the rebus on his trade, a *bell* with the word *found'* on it. Fig. 6, a shield charged with a crown between three bells, upon a field replenished with sprigs, is found on a bell at Fetcham, cast by Robert Mot, first owner of the Whitechapel bell-foundry, who died in 1608. Other bells of this master are extant at Banstead, Chertsey, Merstham, and Walton-on-the-Hill. To this Whitechapel foundry the Carters, and after them the Bartletts, succeeded; Thomas Bartlett, who died in 1619, and whose foundry-stamp is shown in fig. 4 (from a bell at Richmond), having been foreman during the period of the Carters. The author carefully reviews the fortunes of the foundry, and dedicates a chapter to the Eldridge family of bell-founders and the Chertsey foundry during the seventeenth century.

The work concludes with a very copious list of the church bells of Surrey, arranged alphabetically, with copies of their inscriptions and mottoes. Many of these are remarkably quaint, and all contain points of interest of one kind or other: some for the beauty and artistic excellence of their form; others for their elegant lettering and ornamentation, of which Mr. Stahlschmidt gives a large store of plates; others for the names and fanciful expressions they exhibit in their inscriptions.

This useful and well written work may be recommended to all archaeologists who desire to know the most they can of the campanology of a quiet English county.

The late Mr. Seth Stevenson's *Dictionary of Roman Coins* is now being completed by Mr. Madden, and will soon be issued by subscription. It is in two volumes copiously illustrated. Subscribers' names may be forwarded to Mr. H. Stevenson, Unthinks Road, Norwich.

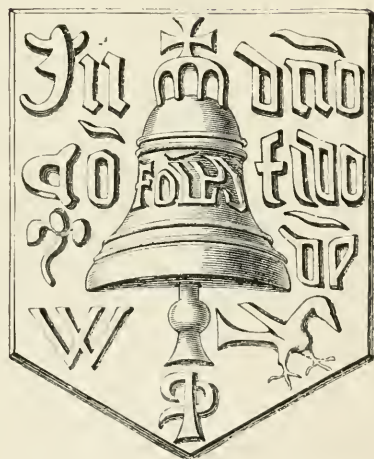
*Recent explorations* in a field near Purwell Mill, Hitchin, Herts., have brought to light extensive remains of a Roman dwelling. A room with a tessellated pavement of red and white, in a fair state of preservation, has been opened to view. The walls of the dwelling were built chiefly of large flints which had been roughly squared. The dwelling consisted of several rooms, and in one place there had been a hypo-



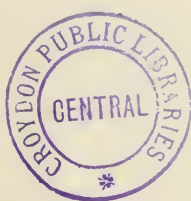
5.



6.



7.



caust. A lane, which in Roman times probably connected this district with ancient Verulam, runs close by the dwelling.

*The Fourfold Domesday Book of Warwickshire*, consisting of a facsimile of the photo-zincographed edition of 1862, together with the contracted text, the extended text, and a translation into English, placed side by side, column for column, line for line, is about to be published by Mr. Wright Wilson. With such a book before him the student cannot fail to appreciate the old Norman-Latin text as it appears in the original. It will be accompanied by an explanatory introduction and copious footnotes. This work has been one of much labour and careful research on the part of Mr. Wilson, who took up the *Warwickshire Domesday* for the sake of those unable, from want of time, to pursue the original text, and not for the sake of any profit, as the subscription will only just cover the cost of the book. The price to subscribers will be 25s. net, and this edition will be strictly limited to 200 copies. Intending subscribers should send their names and addresses to Mr. W. Downing, Bookseller, Chaucer's Head, 74 New Street, Birmingham.

*The Order of the Coif*, by ALEXANDER PULLING, Serjeant-at-Law, containing the early history of the order, together with an account of the Aula Regis and the Courts at Westminster Hall derived from it, the Justiciars, the Judges and Serjeants of the Coif, the *apprenticii ad legem*, the Inns of Court, the forms, solemnities, and usages kept up by the Bench and the Bar, records and memoirs of the old order and its many distinguished members, their legal and social position, and the gradual innovations on the old institution.

The subject of this work has been foreshadowed in the article under the same title in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1878. It has been long projected: the time has arrived when it is required. In this country we have neither a history of the Bench nor the Bar, and the Order of the Coif was the first phase of both. Until a comparatively recent time it included the greater portion of the Judges and Lawyers of England. Dugdale, Fortescue, Coke, Blackstone, and Herbert, give us accounts of the Serjeants-at-law and of the Inns of Court. Serjeant Wynne's tract, published in 1765, entitled *Observations touching the Antiquity and Dignity of the Degree of Serjeant-at-Law*, is the result of very useful researches on the subject. In the first Report of the Common Law Commissioners, the subject of Serjeants' Inn and the Inns of Court is minutely entered on; and in the "Serjeants' Case" arising out of the so called mandate from the Crown issued to the Judges of the Common Pleas in 1834, we find in the various arguments of Sir William Follett, Serjeant Wilde, Sir John Campbell (then



Attorney-General), Sir R. Rolfe (the Solicitor-General), and Mr. C. Austin, much learning upon the subject. Serjeant Manning's able and interesting report of this case has very elaborate notes containing extracts from ancient records more or less relevant. Since these proceedings took place there have appeared a number of biographical works which have entered on the subject of the old Order of Judges and Serjeants of the Coif.

Now ready, in one volume, super-royal 8vo., with illustrations, cloth gilt, bevelled boards. Price, two guineas. (Clowes and Sons, 27 Fleet Street.)

*The Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Abbey of St. Mary of Dene, otherwise Flaxley Abbey, in the County of Gloucester.* By A. W. CRAWLEY-BOVEY, Esq., M.A. Will be printed as soon as the names of a requisite number of subscribers shall have been obtained.—The preparation of these Notes was originally undertaken at the suggestion of Sir J. Maclean, F.S.A., for publication in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*. Owing, however, to their extent, it was suggested to print them by subscription.

The historical value of the monastic cartularies has been shown by those of Gloucester, Malmesbury, and others published in the Master of the Rolls' Series. The *Notes* include the text of the Cartulary of Flaxley Abbey, a copy of which has, with the permission of the Trustees, been obtained from the library of the late Sir T. Phillipps at Thirlstaine House, Cheltenham. This Cartulary contains ninety-seven original documents, which it is believed have never before been printed *in extenso*, though a small portion was privately printed. The complete Cartulary is of value to all who take an interest in the local history of Gloucestershire. The *Notes* further include an account of all the principal references to Flaxley Abbey which are extant on the Rolls in the Public Record Office and in the Registers of the Bishop of Hereford. The chief sources of information are the Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, Patent Rolls, and *Cartæ Antiquæ*. In addition to the original documents referred to, references to Flaxley Abbey from published sources have been collected, thus bringing together all the principal information known to be available relating to the monastic history of the Cistercian Abbey of Dene.

The work will be printed in the best manner, in 4to., on hand-made paper, in old-faced type, uniformly with the Berkeley MSS. and the *Annals of Chepstow Castle*, and handsomely bound in buckram; the impression to be limited to seventy copies, demy 4to., price 14s., closely calculated to cover simply the cost of production.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 15, for Rev. J. Orger read Rev. R. E. Orger
- „ 234, l. 3 from bottom, for Mr. Gilbert Scott read Sir G. G. Scott
- „ 257, l. 2, for 1395 read 1295 ; l. 7, for carrying read carried
- „ 258, l. 27, for Pontissard read Pontissera
- „ 259, l. 4 from bottom, *dele* in 1536.

In vol. xxxix, p. 415, l. 16 from top, after Mr. J. T. Irvine, *dele* the architect who assisted in the restoration.







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